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THE MAKING OF THE GOSPELS

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THE MAKING OF THE GOSPELS

SIX LECTURES DELIVERED DURING
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P R E F A C E

ONE of the duties of the Fellows of the ancient College of Christ in Manchester is the Religious Education of the people. In discharge of this duty I undertook the delivery of the following lectures on the Friday evenings in Lent this year. My object was to put before my audience the results of Biblical Criticism, so far as they are accepted by our best English scholars. The authorities I have mainly followed are Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott, Dr Salmon, the present Dean of Westminster, Professor Sanday, Professor Swete, Professor Ramsay, Dr Plummer, Professor Burkitt, and Mr Kenyon. These lectures are to a great extent an expansion of the Introduction to my *Life of Christ* published by Mr Murray. To that Introduction I must refer my readers for the detailed references to my

authorities. For the inferred connection of S. Luke and S. John I am myself responsible : for the suggested proof of inspiration at the close of the first lecture I am indebted to a paper by Professor Burkitt in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1904. The one great principle that has guided me in these lectures is the relation between the Higher Criticism and Textual Criticism. The Higher Criticism is to a certain extent a speculative science ; and it must necessarily be largely influenced by the point of view, the training, and the bias of the individual critic. Textual Criticism, on the other hand, is a comparatively exact science, and its conclusions are reached independently of any influence of the subject matter of the books under consideration ; it is concerned only with their literary history. Hence it follows that the conclusions of Textual Criticism override and correct those of the Higher Criticism. And it is the ascertained results of Textual Criticism that have brought about the general agreement as to the date of the sacred writings which now obtains among scholars of such very different schools.

It will be obvious that these lectures are

published as delivered; I have had no opportunity of re-writing them.

That they may strengthen the faith of some of the faithful, and enable them to live more fully the life of the dutiful, is the hope and prayer of the writer.

J. J. S.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. THE FOUR OLDEST BIBLES, AND WHAT THEY TEACH US	1
II. HOW THE GOSPELS WERE WRITTEN	20
III. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MARK: ITS SOURCE, OBJECT, AND CHARACTERISTICS	37
IV. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MATTHEW: ITS SOURCES AND AIMS	53
V. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. LUKE: ITS SOURCES AND CHARACTERISTICS	70
VI. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. JOHN: ITS AUTHOR, METHOD, AND MESSAGE	90

THE MAKING OF THE GOSPELS

I

THE FOUR OLDEST BIBLES, AND WHAT THEY TEACH US

It has pleased Almighty God that part of His revelation should be communicated to us through the medium of a book. This book we call the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This New Testament consists of twenty-seven separate writings by at least eight different authors. One section of the New Testament contains four biographies of our Lord. This section we call the Gospels.

God has given us these Gospels in the form of a book, and therefore He intended us to exercise our faculties upon them, as upon any other historical book. That is, God intended us to criticise them, and to learn about them all that the science of criticism could unfold to us

of their history, their composition, their date, and their authorship.

So long as such criticism is fair and impartial we have nothing to fear from it, for it is only seeking after the truth. Of course even the honest seeker after truth may make mistakes. There is nothing in this world free from the possibility of error. Of course, too, in some points the conclusions of the critic can be only tentative, and fresh discoveries may take place which will require the revision of the critical conclusions already accepted.

But taken as a whole no fresh discoveries are likely to upset the results which are now generally accepted by the best English authorities on New Testament criticism. There are many details which we should like to know. There are also many points further to which we should like to extend our knowledge. But so far as it goes, our knowledge, the knowledge that modern criticism of the Gospels has unfolded to us, appears to be sound, reliable, and permanent.

There is another reason why we can afford to fearlessly welcome the New Testament critic. The New Testament, infinitely valuable as it is, is not the only record of Christianity. For we are now taught by Dr Harnack that the Apostles' Creed substantially dates from A.D. 150, and Professor Kattenbusch of Giessen puts the date earlier still, about A.D. 100. While the very fact that through all the ages the central Service

of the Christian Church has been the memorial of her Lord's death, is a proof in itself that the Church believed both that the Lord who died was more than man, and that the dead Christ had risen again. Our Faith has a great mass of cumulative evidence to support it, and therefore we can afford to inquire quite fearlessly into the truth about every part of it.

Before proceeding to deal with the books of the New Testament, it is necessary to say a word or two about the language in which they were written. In the form in which we have them now they were all written in Greek. At the time that our Lord came into the world, in the providence of God, the world was bilingual,—the people all spoke Greek as well as their own native language. You will understand this at once from a single illustration. Latin was the native language of Rome, yet S. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans in Greek. So in the Holy Land the native language was Aramaic. Aramaic is sometimes called Hebrew in the Acts, but as a matter of fact Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac are all different dialects. Hebrew, strictly speaking, was a dead language in the time of our Lord, and was only used for Divine Worship, as the Roman Catholics use Latin to-day. The living language was Aramaic in Palestine, and Syriac in the valley of the Euphrates. Thus our Lord and His Disciples spoke both Aramaic and Greek, and our Lord

knew Hebrew also. Probably when our Lord was in the country districts and among country people, He would speak Aramaic; when He was in the towns of Galilee or in Jerusalem, He probably spoke Greek. Hence since the Roman world was so bilingual it was quite natural that the New Testament writers should write in Greek, for by that means they rendered their writings intelligible practically to everybody.

New Testament Criticism is really the combined result of labours in two very different fields of inquiry.

One branch of this work goes by the name of *Textual Criticism*.

The other goes by the less explanatory name of *The Higher Criticism*.

The primary object of the Textual Critic was originally to try and ascertain the exact words of the Greek New Testament; but of late he has extended his field of labour, and has brought his exact science to bear upon the literary history of the New Testament.

The Higher Criticism deals with the questions of the authorship, date, origin, composition, and historical character of the writings that come under its investigation.

In these lectures I will endeavour to avoid technical terms as far as possible; but there are three words which come up from time to time and which it is necessary to explain: these words are, authentic, genuine, canonical.

Authentic—a writing is said to be authentic when it is a reliable authority, and its history is regarded as true in fact.

Genuine—a writing is said to be genuine when it was written by the reputed author and has practically come to us as it left the author's hands.

Canonical—a writing is said to be canonical when it is included in the Canon of Scripture, *i.e.* in the Bible, and we accept its contents because the Church has included it in the Canon of Scripture.

We can now proceed to discuss the evidence for the Gospels afforded us by the four oldest Bibles.

1. The first of these is the oldest Greek Bible. The original object of Textual Criticism was to ascertain the correct text, *i.e.* the very words of the authors of the New Testament books. For 1400 years these books had been transmitted by writing. “Now it is a fact that no one, however trained and experienced, can copy exactly what he sees before him for many pages together. However careful he may be, he is practically certain to introduce some changes. This human inability to be accurate necessarily affected the text of the Gospels,”¹ and in each successive copy the variations would increase both in degree and

¹ See the Dean of Westminster's *Study of the Gospels*, p. 24.

kind. Consequently the later copies of the Gospels were liable to those kinds of errors which are common to all such copied works.

In the sixteenth century the text of the New Testament was to a certain extent fixed by the invention of printing. But the printers and translators of our Authorised Version were dependent upon late MSS., which contained many such errors.

Since then the discoveries of many ancient MSS. have enabled Textual Critics to eliminate most of these errors.

When a MS. was copied in one of the ancient libraries, as soon as ever it was finished, it was gone carefully over by a corrector. At later periods other correctors compared it with other more ancient MSS., and corrected it by them. Experts are able to recognise the handwriting of these various correctors and to form a judgment upon the quality of the copy from which the corrections were made.

Now the two eldest extant Greek Bibles are two that were written on vellum in the fourth century. The reason why no Bibles older than the fourth century exist is because in the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303-310, all copies of the Scriptures were ordered to be given up to be burnt in public before the magistrates. When the Emperor Constantine won his great victory, with the Cross on his standards, in A.D. 312, of course the persecution was at an end; but the

Church was left terribly short of Bibles, and in A.D. 331 the Emperor commissioned Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, to get him fifty new Bibles copied for the principal churches in the Empire. Some experts think that either one or both of our two oldest Greek Bibles were among these fifty. However that may be, these Bibles were written in the fourth century, and the older of them probably in the earlier part of it.

Now if you have followed what I said about the correction of copies, you will see that by carefully noting the corrector's work it is possible to get at the readings of the archetype or original from which the MS. was copied. And therefore it is possible for us to ascertain what were the contents of this earlier copy. That must take us back to somewhere about the middle of the third century—*i.e.* between A.D. 250-300.

This is practically the Text of the Revised Version of the English Bible and of the Edition of the Greek Testament, jointly edited by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort.

In both these books we find the text of the Gospels as it was in the latter part of the third century, *i.e.* the copyist's errors of 1250 years have been eliminated from it.

This is the first of the four ancient Bibles I want to make use of—the *Third Century Greek Bible*, we will call it.

The remaining three Bibles are versions, *i.e.* they are not written in Greek, but they are

translations into other languages ; as a matter of fact, into Latin and Syriac. Now in many respects, of course, a version is an infinitely less valuable aid than an original MS. ; but on some occasions they can give vital assistance. For instance, in the question of contents, it is as easy to tell if a whole passage is omitted by a version as by a Greek MS. ; and sometimes a version can lead us to a correct decision in the choice of a word. Take an illustration in verse 21 of the Te Deum. The Latin Te Deum reads—

“ Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari.”
(or, munerari).

Numerari means “to be numbered,” *munerari* means “to be rewarded.” In Latin the difference is between *num* and *mun*, a difference so slight in appearance that it would be difficult to be quite sure in many cases which the scribe meant. But in English there can be no doubt. The English translator read *numerari*, for he translated the sentence, “Make them to be numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting.” If he had read *munerari*, he would have translated the verse, “Make them to be rewarded with Thy saints in (or with) glory everlasting.” Thus the English translation makes it quite clear that in the translator’s day, in the year 1549, this verse was a part of the Te Deum, and that it was understood to mean, “Make them to be numbered with thy saints,” etc.

From this illustration you will be able to understand that the evidence of the versions in many respects is of quite as much value as the evidence of Greek MSS.; and that is especially so with regard to the *contents* of the Gospels, which is the particular point that I am going to use them for now.

2. The first version I wish to speak about is the Old Latin Version. It is called the Old Latin Version to distinguish it from the Fourth Century Version, which was translated by S. Jerome, and which is called the Latin Vulgate, and which is still the Authorised Version of the Roman Church.

The Old Latin Version was made not for dwellers at Rome, but for the inhabitants of the Western Provinces of the Empire. Three editions of it exist—one made for Africa, one for Europe, and one for north Italy. The Italian edition has evidently been revised, and its roughnesses of expression have been toned down. The African edition is rough and somewhat free. It was used by two great theological writers, Tertullian about A.D. 200, and S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248-258. Some Latin MSS. of this Bible have recently been very carefully studied and compared with the writings of S. Cyprian. S. Cyprian was a very diligent and accurate quoter, and his works are well preserved in many ancient MSS. The result of the

comparison is that three of the Old Latin MSS. can be identified with the African text, four of the MSS. represent the Italian text, while the remaining thirty-one represent an original European text older than the Italian. None of the MSS. contain the whole of the New Testament.

Now I need not dwell upon the particular details of these separate versions.

The important points to realise are that the identification of the versions with the quotations help us on the one hand to ascertain the contents of the quoters' Bibles, and on the other to fix the date of the versions.

Now as to the date, the African Bible was used by Tertullian about A.D. 200. But the Old Latin Version can be traced back even earlier.

At Carthage, on 17th July 180, a group of Christians, twelve in number, who are usually called the Scillitan martyrs, were executed. They came from a town in Numidia, which Bishop Lightfoot calls Scilla. They apparently had in their possession a copy of the Gospels and of the Epistles of S. Paul. And these must have been in Latin.

In A.D. 177, the well-known persecution of the churches of Vienne and Lyons took place. An account of this persecution, written by the persecuted churches to their brethren in Asia and the East, is preserved in the Ecclesiastical

History of Eusebius. The present Dean of Westminster has shown that though the letter is written in Greek yet the New Testament used by the author was the Old Latin, not a Greek, New Testament, and an Old Latin edition akin to the editions used by Tertullian and S. Cyprian.

So we find the Old Latin Version in use in A.D. 200 by Tertullian, in A.D. 180 by the Scillitan martyrs, in A.D. 177 by the churches of Vienne and Lyons.

Hence we deduce the fact that the translation must have been made some years earlier.

And Mr Kenyon, the Assistant Keeper of MSS. at the British Museum, who is one of the great authorities on this question, says it was originally made in the second century, perhaps not very far from A.D. 150.

If, then, for the sake of using round numbers we date the Old Latin Version A.D. 150, we cannot be very far out: and therefore for convenience in the rest of this lecture I shall treat that as the date, though I do not mean thereby to say that it could not have been A.D. 145 or A.D. 155.

3. The third Bible that I am going to describe is a very remarkable and very valuable book, and yet strictly speaking it is not a Bible at all, though for many years it was used as its Bible

by a great Oriental Church. It is called the *Diatessaron*, and is a life of Christ made up out of the narratives of the four Gospels, combining them into a single story. It was the work of one Tatian, a native of the Euphrates Valley. Tatian went to Rome and studied there under Justin Martyr. Tatian left Rome about A.D. 172 or 173, and returned to Edessa, and his *Diatessaron* must have been made either just before he left Rome, or just after his return to Edessa—most probably just before he left Rome. So that its date would be about A.D. 170. The *Diatessaron* had a curious history; at the time it was written it was so popular that it was universally used in place of the four Gospels by Syriac-speaking people. This use appears to have lasted nearly 200 years, till Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, in A.D. 411 succeeded in procuring a new Syriac translation of the Gospels, which we call the Peshitta, and getting this new translation everywhere substituted for the *Diatessaron*.¹ Thus the *Diatessaron* went completely out of use, and the copies of it were probably destroyed. No Syriac copy is at present known to exist; and until comparatively recently the *Diatessaron* was only known through the quotations made from it by the Syrian Fathers. Since A.D. 1719 there has been in the Vatican Library at Rome an Arabic MS. of the *Diatessaron*, quite unknown and

¹ See Prof. Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity*, Lecture II.

forgotten; this was seen by a Coptic Bishop, and he at once said he had seen one like it in Egypt. In A.D. 1886 this second copy arrived, as a present, in Rome, and the *Diatessaron* was published in A.D. 1888 in Arabic with a Latin translation, and in A.D. 1894 an English translation was published.

Tatian is known to have written five other works besides the *Diatessaron*, including a book on some obscure portions of the Old Testament and a collection of the Epistles of S. Paul.

Bishop Lightfoot puts Tatian's writings between A.D. 150 and A.D. 170, and they cannot well have extended over much more time. Tatian left Rome in A.D. 172, and the *Diatessaron* probably was written at Rome, though its date is uncertain. But we cannot be far wrong if we fix the date about A.D. 170.

The two important points that I wish to impress upon you are, (i) its date, about A.D. 170; and (ii) its contents. For the use I am going to make of it, a knowledge of its contents is all-important; and therefore I wish to remind you that the *Diatessaron* as known to us merely from the quotations of the Syrian Fathers is of little use for my purpose as compared with the complete *Diatessaron*, even though that be only preserved in an Arabic version. For from the point of view of its contents the Arabic Version is as valuable as the Syriac original.

4. The fourth Bible is the Old Syriac. This has a long and complicated history. Too long and too complicated to be discussed here. Only the four Gospels remain. The curious thing about it is this. The Old Syriac Gospels were certainly in the hands of scholars. But they do not appear to have been used in church. In church the *Diatessaron* seems to have been read till the end of the fourth century, when it was forbidden by authority, and replaced by the Peshitta.¹

This Old Syriac Version is not later than A.D. 200, and may be earlier. Whether it was earlier or later than the *Diatessaron* is still a matter of dispute among Syriac scholars.

These four old Bibles, with their dates, are :—

1. The Old Greek Text as it existed between A.D. 250-300.

2. The Old Latin Version, made about A.D. 150.

3. The *Diatessaron* of Tatian, made about A.D. 170.

4. The Old Syriac Version, made not later than A.D. 200.

Now we are going to ask these four Bibles what they can tell us about the Gospels.

The first thing they tell us is that the Gospels

¹ See Prof. Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity*, Lecture II.

are not quite the same in all of them. If you look in your Revised Version of the English New Testament, you will find there is a group of passages scattered all through the Gospels, against each of which is written, "Some ancient authorities omit this." If you could read the ancient Bibles you would find that these passages include some that have never got into our English Bible at all, such as the story of a light appearing at the baptism of our Lord, which some ancient Bibles insert in S. Matthew's account of our Lord's baptism. Whereas others, such as the story of the woman taken in adultery in S. John's Gospel, and the stories in S. Luke's Gospel of the sweat like great drops of blood, and our Lord's prayer for His murderers, etc., are familiar to readers of the English Bible. Before we go any further, let us understand what we mean by calling these passages interpolations. We do not mean that they are not true—I believe that they are true: we do not mean that they are not part of the canonical Gospels, for they are: but we mean that they were not part of the Gospel in which they occur, as it was first published, and that they probably were not inserted by the authors of the Gospel. The source of these interpolations is the school of Christian teachers which S. John founded at Ephesus.

These interpolations occur in the second and third of the four Bibles referred to, but they do not occur in the first and fourth.

These interpolations are of great value in helping us to fix the date of the Gospels. Textual Criticism has succeeded in proving that they all come from a single copy. This copy was originally annotated by these passages. They were put in the margin; some as explanations, some as parallel illustrations, and some as additional pieces of information. Then a scribe who had to copy the annotated book copied the notes into the text, mistaking them for corrections. Thus the interpolated copy came into regular use in some places, and, at all events at Rome, came to be regarded as the best copy, the copy from which to make others. Now all this must have taken some years. If you calculate it out, you will see that it means that the volume of the Gospels must have come into existence about A.D. 100, or at any rate not much later. And the single Gospels must have been written before that.

How long before that? This is the next question.

Again modern knowledge helps us to an answer. When we turn to S. Mark's Gospel we find it has lost its original ending. Quite recently a clue has been discovered which leads us to a fair surmise as to what the original ending was.

But Textual Criticism has been at work, and proved that when the four Gospels were put into a single volume, only one copy of S. Mark's

Gospel could at the moment be found, and that one had lost its last leaf.

And why was that? Scholars have set to work to answer that question. And they have found the answer. S. Mark's Gospel, the earliest of all the Gospels, went out of use because the Jewish Christians preferred S. Matthew's Gospel, and the Gentile Christians preferred S. Luke's Gospel: for both these Gospels contained what S. Mark's did not; both contained an account of our Lord's birth, and both contained a number of parables and discourses. We find as a matter of fact that not only did S. Mark's Gospel go out of use in the churches, but that it was hardly ever quoted by Christian writers and theologians before Irenæus, *i.e.* before it took its place in the volume of the Fourfold Gospel.

Already we have determined that these four Gospels were put together before A.D. 120, or perhaps between A.D. 100 and A.D. 120.

Now we have to go back farther; we have to put the dates of the three Gospels so far back that time can be allowed for S. Matthew and S. Luke to supersede S. Mark, and for all copies of his Gospel but one to be lost.

Scholars of all kinds have been thus driven to a general agreement about these dates—and they put the first three Gospels between A.D. 60 and A.D. 80. I suggest to you A.D. 63 or thereabouts for S. Mark, and A.D. 70 for S. Matthew and S. Luke, and A.D. 96 for S. John.

But what is far more important than the actual dates is this. It is now absolutely certain that all the four Gospels were written within the possible lifetime of the men whose names they bear.

One question more we will raise. Textual Criticism has shown us what a near escape S. Mark's Gospel had from being lost. It had almost ceased to be used, both in church and by theologians. How came it to be included in the volume of the Four Gospels? This Gospel, most precious to us, was reckoned of no value then. How was it the Catholic Church was wiser than her preachers, wiser than her theologians, wiser than her members? How was it she included this nearly lost and mutilated Gospel in her fourfold volume? There seems to me only one answer possible: she was inspired to preserve what human agents had all cast aside.¹

And if the Church was inspired to preserve the four Gospels, does it not stand to reason also that the writers of the Gospels were inspired to frame their records as they did, and each to preserve what he has preserved of our Lord's sayings and doings?

So, then, the four oldest Bibles teach us two very important things about the Gospels:—

(i) That they were written within the period

¹ See Prof. Burkitt's *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1904.

when the men who are reputed to have been their authors could have written them ; and

(ii) That the Church was inspired to include them, all four, in her volume of the Gospels, and that the authors were inspired what to include in the contents of their several works.

II

HOW THE GOSPELS WERE WRITTEN

WE believe the Gospels to be inspired. In every inspired writing there are two elements, the human and the Divine. I believe that the Inspiration of the Gospels means that the writers were taught what sayings and events they were to record, how to view them and present them to their readers, and how to interpret them. Thus the effect of the Divine element was to quicken, not to destroy the human element. And our investigation is solely connected with the working of the human element.

The volume of the Four Gospels contains the works of four different writers. Those writers are reputed to be S. Matthew, S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John.

When we compare their writings, we find that there is a certain similarity between the first three, while the fourth is a complete contrast to the rest.

The contrast is in the scenery, the narrative,

and the portraiture of the Christ. The scene in S. John is principally at Jerusalem, in the others it is in Galilee; in S. John the narrative is all in chronological order, and he only records one event, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, which is recorded by the other three, while the portrait of the Christ is quite different to that given by the other three. In S. Matthew the narrative is certainly not chronological; and one portrait of the Christ is common to all the first three Evangelists, and it is the portrait of the Son of Man.

The first three Gospels are for convenience commonly spoken of together as the Synoptic Gospels, because they present a general view or synopsis of the same series of events, and their writers are spoken of as the Synoptists.

It is with the Synoptic Gospels that I propose to deal mainly in this lecture, for S. John's Gospel can be dealt with later.

The very first and most cursory glance at the Synoptic Gospels shows that they have a great deal in common. If you take up a Harmony of the Gospels you will see that S. Matthew embodies in his Gospel nearly the whole of the subject matter of S. Mark, and S. Luke includes about four-fifths of S. Mark. I do not mean that they actually quote it. That we shall have to investigate presently. But I mean that practically all that is in S. Mark's Gospel is included in S. Matthew's; and four-fifths of S. Mark's Gospel

is included in S. Luke's. But S. Matthew and S. Luke are much longer than S. Mark. And all this material from S. Mark forms rather more than half of S. Matthew's Gospel, and rather less than two-fifths of S. Luke's Gospel.

Then we notice that of the remaining matter there is a certain amount common to S. Matthew and S. Luke—an amount equal to about a quarter of the whole; a little more than a quarter in the case of S. Matthew, and a little less than a quarter in the case of S. Luke—while the original matter in S. Matthew is only about one-fifth and in S. Luke about two-fifths of their respective Gospels.

All these facts are open to anybody to discover; and the problem before us is, Can we find any explanation of these facts which is consistent with our belief that the Evangelists wrote under the guidance of God the Holy Ghost?

Let us consider first the common material in all the three Synoptic Gospels. Of course, the comparison really has to be made in Greek; but I am going to use one or two examples in English where the English words exactly represent the Greek.

Now if we take the miracle of the sick of the palsy, there are verbal variations in each of the Evangelists; but when the words our Lord addressed to the Pharisees are reached, all the accounts are the same.

S. Mark says: "Whether is it easier to say

to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house."

If we look carefully at the different narratives, we shall find that both S. Matthew and S. Luke make verbal alterations in the story; for instance, S. Mark calls the bed by a curious Macedonian word, which S. Matthew changes into a couch, and S. Luke into a little couch or pallet: but when we come to the words of our Lord's address to the Pharisees, we find they are practically the same, and the little parenthesis "(he saith to the sick of the palsy)" is exactly the same and in the same place, and the words which follow are practically the same. Then we feel that S. Matthew and S. Luke must have had a written copy of S. Mark lying before them. It would be impossible otherwise that the unimportant words should all be so exactly reproduced.

If we follow the common narratives in other similar passages, we shall find still the same result.

There are some passages, indeed, where the result is quite different. For instance, each of the Synoptists gives an account of the Transfiguration; but the variations of the separate narrative are not merely verbal. S. Mark says our Lord's

garments were whiter than any fuller on earth could whiten them ; S. Matthew says they were white as the light, meaning the sunlight ; while S. Luke says they were flashing forth like lightning. Here the differences are not merely the different choice of epithets, but they represent different ideas which were impressed upon different onlookers ; and this is borne out by the whole of each of the narratives, so that we are driven to the conclusion that each of the Evangelists represents the story obtained from a different eyewitness. S. Mark records, of course, S. Peter's impression ; S. Luke records S. John's ; and S. Matthew that of S. James.

It is commonly said of S. Mark that he gives in a few words a considerable number of details which serve to bring the scene very vividly before his readers' eyes. This is quite true, but it also serves to provide a considerable amount of repetition in the story ; words and phrases are repeated which might have been dispensed with.

S. Matthew and S. Luke prune these narratives of S. Mark very considerably. I will give you a short illustration. The account of the healing of St Peter's mother-in-law.

Here is S. Mark's account :—" And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her. And he came and took her by the hand, and

lifted her up ; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them."

S. Matthew writes :—" And when Jesus was come unto Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever. And he touched her hand and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered unto them."

S. Luke writes :—" And he arose out of the synagogue and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever, and they brought him for her. And he stood over her and rebuked the fever ; and it left her ; and immediately she arose and ministered unto them."

Now, of this page, S. Mark's account takes 7 lines, S. Matthew's 4, S. Luke's 6. In the Greek narrative, S. Mark uses 44 words, S. Matthew 30, S. Luke 30.

This shows how the other Evangelists prune S. Mark's narrative ; but it is not a very complete illustration, because, taken over the whole of S. Mark's matter, S. Luke cuts it down twice as much as S. Matthew. For S. Matthew cuts it down by one-eighth, and S. Luke cuts it down by a quarter.

Hence it follows that the first thing we learn about the making of the Synoptic Gospels is that S. Mark wrote his Gospel before the other two Evangelists ; and that, while not slavishly copying him, or even always making use of his account, S. Matthew and S. Luke wrote with

S. Mark's Gospel before them. And as they made use of his narrative, they sometimes abbreviated it, sometimes adapted it, and sometimes substituted the narrative of a first-hand eyewitness for it. Still all the while the foundation of their record of our Lord's ministry is the narrative of S. Mark.

When we study the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke which does not occur in S. Mark, and which amounts to about a quarter of their work, we find it includes some parables, portions of the two great sermons, short sayings and discourses, and among others the following accounts, — S. John the Baptist's treatment of the Pharisees and Sadducees who came to His baptism ; our Lord's temptation ; the healing of the centurion's servant ; our Lord's replies to two would-be disciples, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air their nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head," and, "Let the dead bury their dead" ; the casting out of a dumb devil, and of a blind and dumb devil ; the message from John in prison, to ask if Jesus were "He that should come," or were they to look for another, and our Lord's reply, and subsequent address to the people about John ; the thanksgiving to His Father for hiding His revelation from the wise and unfolding it to children ; the dinner with the Pharisee with unwashed hands ; and the lament over Jerusalem.

Now it is not certain by any means that all

these came from the same source. And in particular, though it is now generally thought that the Sermon on the Mount in S. Matthew's Gospel and the Sermon on a level place in S. Luke's Gospel are two reports of the same sermon, yet it is possible that the same sermon was preached twice during our Lord's missionary progresses through Galilee, and that the two accounts represent reports of two different occasions and not two different reports of one sermon. On the other hand, the correct description of the scene of S. Luke's sermon is "on a level place," and not as in Authorised Version "on the plain"; and S. Matthew's "mountain" only means "on the high land," so that the people may well have been gathered on a level place on the rising ground where He could sit a little above them : in which case both the Evangelists describe the same sermon. So on this question we must keep an open mind. There is not really sufficient evidence to enable us to decide absolutely, one way or another.

But generally it is believed that S. Matthew and S. Luke made use of a Gospel or fragment of a Gospel that is now lost. But S. Matthew and S. Luke use it very differently. S. Matthew's Gospel is not in chronological order, and he takes his S. Mark and his other document and fits the portions of the other documents into his S. Mark, so that parallel passages and similar incidents are grouped together. When we turn to S. Luke

the result is quite different ; he has apparently had the same S. Mark and the same other document before him, but he has pieced them together so as to form a continuous and accurate narrative, with the events all in their proper order.

We now come to speak of the passages peculiar to each of the three Gospels. When we take S. Mark's Gospel up and carefully examine it, we find that there are only four passages which are peculiar to S. Mark, in the sense of being wholly unrepresented in any other Gospel (I exclude of course the opening verse) ; these four passages are : The parable of the seed growing secretly ; the miracles of the healing of a deaf and dumb man, and of the healing of the blind man, at Bethsaida ; and the story of the young man in a linen garment who followed our Lord after He was arrested in Gethsemane.

All the rest of S. Mark's Gospel is incorporated in some form or other in the Gospels of S. Matthew* and S. Luke.

Here it is necessary to draw your attention to a matter that has recently been more prominently brought into notice. In ancient times there were recognised limits which were practically imposed upon the size of books by material conditions. The Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Luke, and the Acts, all appear to have reached those limits. It is for this reason among others no doubt that S. Matthew and S. Luke had to prune S. Mark's narrative.

The original matter in S. Matthew, *i.e.* the events and utterances recorded only by S. Matthew, are about one-fifth of the whole. They include a genealogy, an account of the events connected with our Lord's birth, a large portion of the Sermon on the Mount, and portions of some other discourses, nine out of fifteen parables, three out of twenty miracles ; some details of the Passion and Crucifixion, including the setting of the guard over the sepulchre ; and S. Matthew's account of the Resurrection.

The original matter in S. Luke is about two-fifths of the whole, *i.e.* the events and utterances recorded by S. Luke alone. It includes a long narrative of the birth of S. John the Baptist ; of the birth, early life, and childhood of our Lord ; a genealogy ; some special details connected with our Lord's Passion and Crucifixion, the Words from the Cross, and His burial ; S. Luke's account of the Resurrection ; together with an account of six out of twenty miracles, and sixteen out of twenty-three parables.

A question arises here which deserves some notice. Are the Gospels as we have them to-day as they left the hands of their authors ? You will sometimes see an "advanced critic," as such men are called, state that the Gospels belong to this or that date with the exception of certain later additions, which the aforesaid advanced critic then specifies. You will generally find that the passages specified as later additions are those

which clash with the preconceived opinions, or doctrinal views, or individual prejudices of the critic. But you may feel a doubt as to whether the critic may not possibly be right. The answer I should give you is this. We know the literary history of the books back to A.D. 150. Textual Criticism has been able to trace all the earlier interpolations as I have already shown. It is all but impossible that there should have been any serious additions or omissions in the text which the science of Textual Criticism has been unable to detect and account for. And therefore I believe that, with the exception of the interpolations, we possess our Gospels in the form in which they left their authors' hands.

I want now to say a word or two about the interpolations. The most important that occur in our English Bible are the sayings of our Lord about discerning the weather, in Matt. xvi. 2, 3; the story of the bloody sweat in Gethsemane, Luke xxii. 43, 44; and of our Lord's prayer for His murderers, Luke xxiii. 34; and of the woman taken in adultery, John vii. 53 to viii. 11. Bishop Lightfoot conjectured that the source of this last was Papias' *Five Books of the Expositions of the Oracles of our Lord*. And now that it is known that these other stories all belong to a single series, they are pretty generally attributed to the same source. With one exception, they are all probably true narratives. That one exception is the story of the angel troubling the water in the

Pool of Bethesda, which is obviously a non-scientific explanation of the action of an intermittent pool. Papias was either a pupil of S. John, or a pupil of a pupil of S. John; and S. John had founded a school at Ephesus, and gathered round him a body of Christian teachers. When we study some of these interpolations it is tolerably obvious that S. John must have been the source. For instance, only three of the disciples could have seen the sweat like great drops of blood—Peter, James, and John. S. Peter did not mention it; S. James died, before the Gospels were written, in A.D. 44; there is only S. John left. Similarly, in the prayer for our Lord's murderers, only S. John was probably near enough to hear what the Lord said. Therefore all the circumstances point to this same origin of the interpolations, and if so, guarantee their truthfulness.

There is one very common error that we must guard against. The Synoptic Gospels, except in one case, only furnish us with the testimony of a single witness. When S. Matthew and S. Luke embody S. Mark in their Gospels, the testimony is of value as the testimony of S. Mark alone. Therefore it is the testimony of only one witness. Similarly, where they quote the lost Gospel or fragment of a Gospel, the evidence is only the evidence of the author of that fragment.

This is very important for us to remember,

especially when we have to deal with opponents. The very worst thing a Christian can do is to overstate his side of the case; because the onlooker thinks if this or that portion of the evidence can be broken down, probably the rest could be dealt with in like manner by an opponent having sufficient knowledge. Therefore, speaking in general terms, the joint testimony of all the Synoptists is only the testimony of a single witness.

There is one important exception to this, and that is the story of the Resurrection. In this case we have the original detailed accounts of S. Mark and S. John. S. Matthew tells us in addition about the soldiers at the sepulchre. S. Luke tells about the journey to Emmaus. The author of the last twelve verses of S. Mark gives an account all his own, and quite different from that of S. Luke and S. John, of the journey to Emmaus, and the appearance afterwards in the upper room. S. John alone tells us about the appearance on the first Sunday after Easter, and at the Sea of Tiberias. S. Matthew alone tells about the appearance to the body of disciples in Galilee. S. Luke and the author of the last twelve verses of S. Mark alone tell us about the Ascension, and in different records. While S. Paul, in 1 Cor. xv. 4-8, gives us yet another account of the Resurrection. So, then, we get separate accounts of events connected with the Resurrection from each of the four Evangelists, from the author of the last twelve verses of

S. Mark, and from S. Paul. Thus the testimony to the Resurrection is the evidence of six separate witnesses.

There is one other point of considerable importance; that is, the portraiture of the Christ. It is not infrequently asserted that the four Gospels give us four portraits of the Christ; and that statement has been used as a weapon against the credibility of the Gospels. The statement itself, as you will have perceived already, is untrue to the facts.

The Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark are made up in the main of S. Mark's history, with additional discourses, and a few additional events of our Lord's ministry; the special matter which is not S. Mark's is very small. The Temptation, the visit of S. John the Baptist's messengers, and two miracles, is all that is in the common document used by S. Matthew and S. Luke. Three miracles come from S. Matthew's special sources; and the accounts of the first miraculous draught of fishes, of the visit to Martha and Mary, of the mission of the seventy, and of the journeyings towards Jerusalem between the Transfiguration and the Passion, are all that could affect us in S. Luke. None of these make any change in the character of our Lord during His ministry as it is given in S. Mark's Gospel, or in the portions of S. Mark's Gospel embodied respectively in the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Luke.

Hence it follows that the portrait of our Lord given by the Synoptic Evangelists is one and the same. It is the portrait furnished originally in S. Mark's Gospel. And that means that it is the portrait of a single individual, and that individual is S. Peter.

There is one other portrait given in the Gospels, and that is by S. John. It is frequently urged that one or other of these portraits are untrue, because they appear so dissimilar; and those who insist upon these contrasts and press them against the credibility of the Gospels, frequently say that the portrait given by the Synoptists, because it is given by three, has more testimony in its favour than that given by S. John.

If I have made myself clear, you will see that the portrait given by the Synoptists and S. John respectively both rest exactly upon the same authority, the authority of one of the two most intimate of our Lord's Apostles.

The portrait given by the Synoptists has just as much authority as that given by S. John, since it is the portrait given by S. Peter; and the portrait given by S. John must at least have an equal authority with that furnished by S. Peter.

When we consider the marvellous characteristic differences between these two men: S. Peter is "quick in action, even to rashness; bold in word, even to presumption; eager to realise to

the full, blessings of which he only half perceived the import ; unable to wait in calm assurance on the will of the Master ; full of impatient energy, which seems to be ever striving after the issues of things"—all telling of a zeal and courage which are unbounded, but which are followed, until he has been converted, by a swift and complete reaction. S. John's is quite a different character : the inner life flows on with a deep and still course, only occasionally flashing out into some jealousy of his Lord, some defence of the Truth. S. John is "the ideal of the thoughtful Christian : relentless against evil, patient with the doubting" ; loving to the full his Master, his Master's family, and his Master's work.¹

These two men, so different, were yet partners ; partners first of all in one of the great fishery firms on the Sea of Galilee—S. Peter was the working, self-made man who had risen to his position ; S. John was the son of the capitalist who found the money, who lived a comparatively easy life, and had the entrée to all the best society of the capital.

Partners in earthly labour and success at first, we find them afterwards partners in the closest discipleship of our Lord ; and later partners—unjealous, loyal, loving partners—in the foundation and guidance of the infant Church.

Partners they appear in the Gospels in the

¹ See Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, chap. x.

portraying of the life and character of the Christ for all generations of His followers.

Two most different men. Yet in all the four Gospels we have only two portraits of the Christ, one by S. Peter, and one by S. John. That these two portraits should be the same would be quite contrary to our experience, when we compare two ordinary biographies of the same individual written by different authors. When the writers themselves have characters so diverse, and have passed through experiences so varied, and have occupied conditions of life so opposed as S. Peter and S. John, the impressions made on them by the Christ, and the result of those impressions as they describe them to their hearers, will be as widely different as possible.

But, further, when the subject of those biographies is the Incarnate Son of God, it seems to me more probable than otherwise, that of two inspired writers one should be inspired to deal with the Human side, and the other with the Divine side, of so complex a life and character.

III

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MARK : ITS SOURCE, OBJECT, AND CHAR- ACTERISTICS

IN discussing the Gospel according to S. Mark, it will be necessary for us, first of all, to glance at S. Mark's history. Of this, part is given in the New Testament, part is inferred from the New Testament, and part is furnished us by tradition, *i.e.* by the writings of early Christian teachers.

S. Mark, or John Mark as his name is in full, was the son of Mary, a member of the Church at Jerusalem, and a person of some means and position in the Church, and also a householder in the city. It was to her house S. Peter went when he had been miraculously released from Herod's prison.

When Barnabas and Saul visited Jerusalem to bear the alms of the Church of Antioch, Mark was in the city, and he returned with them to

Antioch, which perhaps was natural, as Barnabas was his cousin.

When those two started forth on their first missionary journey they took Mark with them as their minister, *i.e.*, as we should say, as their chaplain, to baptise for them. At Perga in Pamphylia, S. Mark left the two Apostles and returned to Jerusalem. Why he left them we are not told; except that his desertion told heavily against him in S. Paul's mind, and for a long time S. Paul resented it. On the other hand, it is quite clear from the after history that S. Barnabas was not inclined to blame him so heavily, and even S. Paul was willing to allow him to join in their work at Antioch. Dr Bigg suggests that his leaving was the result of his alarm at the difference between S. Paul's teaching and that to which he had been accustomed, especially in regard to the liberty allowed to the Gentiles.¹ When the second missionary journey was begun, S. Barnabas and S. Paul separated because S. Paul was not willing to take S. Mark with him, and S. Barnabas would not agree to his being left behind. This was probably A.D. 49.

Ten years later, we find S. Mark in Rome with S. Paul during his first imprisonment. Five years later again, we find S. Paul sending for S. Mark to come to him in Rome; and a little later, we find him attending upon S. Peter there.

¹ See Bigg on *The Epistles of S. Peter*, Introduction, § 7.

All this is told to us in so many words in the Acts, the Epistles of S. Paul to the Colossians and Timothy, and the first Epistle of S. Peter.

New Testament scholars, or at least many of them, have inferred from the notices in the New Testament, two other probable facts about S. Mark—one, that he was the young man who followed our Lord after His arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, and who, when an attempt was made to arrest him also, fled away naked, leaving his linen garment in the hands of the Jewish officers; and the other, that he was the son of the man in whose house the Last Supper was eaten. I think probably both these inferences are correct.

Tradition tells us in addition that S. Mark was S. Peter's "interpreter" at Rome, and that he was the author of a Gospel which contained the substance of S. Peter's teaching. This tradition is double, and comes to us from two distinct sources; one of these sources says that the Gospel was written after S. Peter's death; the other that S. Peter knew, permitted, and approved of the writing of the Gospel, and therefore that it was before his death. S. Peter probably died at Rome about A.D. 64.

Several other rather interesting questions are involved, including the discussion of the meaning of the phrase, "S. Peter's interpreter." Bishop Lightfoot thought that it meant S. Mark translated S. Peter's sermons into Latin for the

benefit of some of his Roman hearers ; Dr Swete thinks it means that S. Peter narrated his story of the Gospel in Aramaic, and S. Mark wrote it down in Greek. For our purpose to-night, the matter is of only secondary importance, and it is not unlikely that both facts are true, whichever the phrase applies to.

When all is taken account of, it seems tolerably certain that S. Peter is the authority for the main part of S. Mark's Gospel.

Tradition has identified S. Mark with the city of Alexandria, where it is said he laboured and died ; and where his body rested, until at the time of the Moslem invasion it was transported for safety to Venice.

When we pass from tradition and come to examine S. Mark's Gospel after the methods of modern criticism, we find that the narrative divides into four main sections : an account of the ministry in Galilee (i. 14 to ix. 50) ; an account of the Judæan and Peræan journeys which followed that ministry (x. 1-52) ; an account of the last week at Jerusalem (xi. 1 to xvi. 8) ; and the last twelve verses.

Modern scholarship is practically agreed that the last twelve verses are an addition borrowed from another source than the rest of the Gospel and added to replace the account of the Resurrection which had been lost by the destruction of the last leaf of the original. It is also agreed that they give a true story of the Resurrection,

and that they have been accepted by the Church. Therefore in technical phrase they are authentic and canonical, but not genuine, *i.e.* not written by S. Mark himself. There are two things connected with them I want you to notice. The first of these is that we have now obtained a clue to the original ending. In 1892, in a tomb in Akmim in Egypt, there was discovered a fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of S. Peter. The Gospel of S. Peter is a second-century writing which was largely used by the Docetæ, a heretical sect, who taught that the visible body of Christ and His sufferings were not real, but were only appearances. This fragment, which contains the Passion story from the washing of Pilate's hands to the Resurrection, is obviously made up from our four Gospels; and competent scholars tell us that there are certain indications of the use of S. Mark's Gospel in the account of the visit of the women to the sepulchre on Easter Day morning; and after this the narrative goes on to tell us what the women did and what happened afterwards, and in doing so it mentions one of the Apostles, "Levi, the son of Alphæus," in terms which are only used by S. Mark. Thus we conclude this Gospel, so far as it goes at present, not only follows S. Mark up to xvi. 8, in his story of the Resurrection, but goes on following him afterwards. Mark xvi. 8 ends, "for they (the women) were afraid." The Apocryphal Gospel goes on—"for they were

afraid, and fled. Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many went forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended." Then it describes a return to Galilee by some of the Apostles, parallel to that recorded by S. Matthew. So here we have a clue to the contents of the lost leaf of S. Mark. It contained an account of the Resurrection somewhat like that of S. Matthew, and including a visit to Galilee.

The second thing I want you to notice is this. In 1891 an Armenian MS. of the Gospels was discovered, in which there is a break before the last twelve verses of S. Mark, and there is inserted a rubric by the original scribe, which says, "of the Presbyter Ariston."¹ That means that these last twelve verses were the work of the Presbyter Ariston, a separate account of the Resurrection of our Lord written by him, and afterwards used by the Church to replace the lost last leaf of S. Mark's Gospel. This Ariston is generally allowed to be the Aristion mentioned by Papias as one of the school of S. John at Ephesus; and further, Papias tells us that Aristion or Ariston not only was a personal disciple of our Lord, but that he taught orally of Him, and also compiled a written series of narratives of His sayings and doings; so then we infer that these last twelve verses of S. Mark come to us, like the interpolations in the Inter-

¹ See Prof. Swete's *Commentary on S. Mark*, p. 111.

polated Bible, from the school of S. John at Ephesus.

And further, the result of this is great gain to the Christian Church, for thereby we get an additional and independent testimony to the Resurrection of our Lord. The testimony of the original S. Mark might not improbably be found to be the same as that of S. Matthew. The testimonies of S. Luke and S. John are both independent. This additional testimony secures that in the four Gospels we have at least four independent witnesses to record the reality of the Resurrection.

Now we will leave the last twelve verses and turn to the remaining three divisions. Each of those divisions has characteristics of its own. But one thing is practically certain. Textual Criticism has failed to detect any gaps or variations in them. Therefore we may consider it certain that the rest of the book is as it was originally published.

In the first great division, the narrative of the Galilean ministry (i. 14 to ix. 50), the writer while not intending to produce a set book, is yet writing in chronological order, or in what he regarded as being, in the main, the sequence of events. The teaching of our Lord is seen to pass through a succession of stages in order: it is a fourfold order; He preaches to the congregation in the synagogue; He preaches to the crowd in the open air, on the high land or seashore as the

case may be ; when they proved themselves incapable of receiving spiritual thought, He teaches in parables ; finally, He reveals to a chosen few the mysteries of His kingdom.

And besides this, S. Mark shows us a plan of our Lord's work. It begins with the evangelisation of the Lake side ; then passes into the rest of Galilee, when he is obliged from time to time to withdraw from the Lake district. I shall have to return to this again.

The second section, the brief summary of the Judæan and Peræan work, is obviously inserted to connect the Galilean ministry with the Passion ; it is short, and furnishes no notes of time and comparatively few of place.

The third section, the story of the Passion, is full of detail. The account of this one week occupies nearly two-fifths of the whole Gospel. This section is evidently the work of the same author as the first section ; but it has additional information, apparently from other sources, including a written source, as is suggested for instance by the occurrence of the phrase, "he that readeth" instead of "he that heareth," "let him understand."

Now, it is clear that behind the Evangelist there stands an eyewitness, to whom the whole narrative was most intensely real, so real that in his narrative he frequently notes the look and feeling of our Lord, and gives special details with regard to persons, time, and place. For instance,

he tells us that the house at Capernaum was the joint property of Simon and Andrew (i. 29); that it was at Capernaum that the sick of the palsy was healed (ii. 1); that on one occasion a small boat was provided to follow our Lord along the shore, in case He needed protection from the multitude (iii. 9); that in the storm at sea our Lord was asleep, *in the stern of the vessel*, out of the way of the working of the ship, and probably sufficiently elevated to be safe from the wash of the waves (iv. 37, 38); that at the Feeding of the Five Thousand, our Lord had compassion on the people because they were as shepherdless sheep—that when they were arranged on the grass, they looked like beds of flowers in a garden—that our Lord made the two fishes as well as the bread go round them all (vi.).

I might multiply these instances indefinitely. Bishop Westcott, in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, gives a list of more than a hundred of them.

But we can go a little further. Special details like these occur in the narratives of the Healing of Jairus' daughter (v. 37-43), of the Transfiguration (ix. 2-13), of the Agony in the Garden (xiv. 33-42), of the Denial by S. Peter (xiv. 54, 66-72). Now in the first three of these cases the eye-witness must have been one of the first three of the Apostles, for they alone were present; in the fourth case, only S. Peter and S. John could

possibly have been present. And S. John gives an account of S. Peter's Fall in his Gospel which is not the same as that given by S. Mark.

So we are led to the conclusion that the eyewitness may probably have been S. Peter himself: and this is what ancient tradition steadily says, that S. Mark's Gospel is the summary of S. Peter's preaching.

In the last main section, there is, as I have already pointed out, distinct evidence of other sources of information. The story of the young man who fled away naked from Gethesemane is not unlikely to be S. Mark's own history; and if his house be the place where the Last Supper was held, which is, to say the very least, not improbable, it is quite clear that S. Mark himself must have had some memories, some very vivid memories, of the last week of our Lord's life. And already I have pointed out to you that in this part of the Gospel there are indications that S. Mark made use of a written record of our Lord's discourses.

So far as the sources of S. Mark's Gospel go, then, we learn that it divides into four sections—two main sections, a short connecting chapter, and an appendix. In the two main sections certainly, and perhaps in the connecting chapter also, S. Mark derived his information from an eyewitness; and of all possible eyewitnesses, S. Peter's seems to satisfy best the necessary conditions. Hence, so far as the main body of

the Gospel goes, the traditional account that S. Mark's Gospel is the record of S. Peter's narrative is probably correct; while the last twelve verses appear to have been derived from another eyewitness, a member of the school of S. John, and therefore to be equally reliable.

The object of S. Mark's Gospel is to furnish a portrait of our Lord and His work; and if, as seems probable, it was written at Rome, the accomplishing of that object would be as vivid and terse as possible.

S. Mark begins by describing how the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is that He is the the long-promised Messiah of the Jews and the beloved Son of God.

He narrates the Mission of the Baptist, the Baptism of our Lord, and His Temptation in the wilderness.

Then he describes our Lord's ministry in terms which make him appear an absolute contrast to John the Baptist.

John the Baptist worked in the wilderness, did no miracles, preached only to those who came to him: our Lord worked in the densest population of the Holy Land; was profuse, at all events for the first half of His ministry, with His miracles of mercy; sought out men to be His disciples, and called them to follow Him. The contrast puzzled the Jews, and even for a time His own disciples; and yet it revealed our Lord.

S. Mark works out all this in His simple

personal narrative, but in so doing he makes the stages quite clear. He tells, first of all, of a period during which Jesus had not broken with the Jews, but taught freely in their synagogues. He describes how our Lord's personal friends gather round Him, but as yet were unorganised. The religious world of Galilee had not yet made up its mind. A time came when this mutual hesitancy was bound to cease. The crucial dispute was a matter in connection with the observance of the Sabbath : Jesus looked on His opponents with anger, and was grieved at the hardening of their hearts : they were equally horrified at Him, and went out to obtain allies, and conspire to destroy Him : here we have our Lord's definite breach with Galilean Judaism.¹ Immediately after this our Lord begins to teach on the seashore and elsewhere outside the synagogue ; and He "appoints Twelve that they might be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach." Here is the separation from Judaism : here is the birth of the Church : henceforward His definite instructions are mainly addressed to His followers, while He discourses to the public largely in parables.

Thus S. Mark exhibits our Lord's life and mission, while he depicts Him as man, and at the same time as something more than man. "No Gospel (says Dr Swete) brings into clearer

¹ See Prof. Burkitt's paper, *S. Mark's Account of the Birth of the Church*.

light the perfect humanity of the Lord." On the other hand, He claims an authority, He has powers, He manifests knowledge, which are all supernatural. And he is shown to us "as the supreme Son of Man, and the Only Son of God," "perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting."

When we pass on to consider the characteristics of S. Mark's Gospel, there is one element which has been ruled out by modern critics. Bishop Westcott's theory as to the source of the common matter in the first three Gospels was that there existed a common oral Gospel or Catechism, which was taught to all the Christian converts, and that the Synoptic Evangelists worked from this, and selected or omitted such passages and details as suited them. Of course in such case the insertions or omissions would have a distinct bearing upon and would give a distinct colouring to the characteristics of the Gospel.

I explained to you in my last lecture that scholars were now of the opinion that the likeness between the Synoptic Gospels was due to the fact that S. Matthew and S. Luke wrote with S. Mark's Gospel before them, and embodied in their Gospels such portions of S. Mark's Gospel as they deemed suitable for their purpose.

Of course this modifies the value of the passages peculiar to S. Mark. It was not his choosing them that made them peculiar to his

narrative ; it was that the others did not choose them.

These passages of the original Gospel of S. Mark, *i.e.* excluding the last twelve verses, are only *four* in number. But they are all very remarkable. They are :—

The Parable of the Seed growing secretly, as it is commonly called (iv. 26-29) ; which lays down the mysteriousness and secrecy of the development of Spiritual life.

The healing of the deaf and dumb Gentile by two separate actions (vii. 31-37) ; the ears were bored, the tongue was touched ; which shows how God may, if He will, use instruments. The healing of the blind man whose sight was gradually restored (viii. 22-26) ; showing our Lord as the author and finisher of the healing.

The story of the young man (not improbably S. Mark himself) who followed Jesus from Gethsemane for a while, and then fled away naked, to avoid arrest (xiv. 51-52).

There are two or three other points which should be noticed in connection with S. Mark's Gospel, if we are to get a true idea of its character. The first and most obvious of these is its brevity. S. Matthew's Gospel and S. Luke's Gospel are each considerably longer. S. Mark's Gospel is two-thirds of S. Matthew's, and three-fifths of S. Luke's. And this brevity is not altogether due to the omission by S. Mark of any record of our Lord's birth and childhood. The narrative

of our Lord's ministry is very nearly the same length in S. Matthew's Gospel as in S. Luke's. and in each of them the narrative is about half as long again as S. Mark's.

The next thing we must notice is the cause of this brevity. It is due to two causes : terseness of narration, and the compression and omission of discourses and parables.

Yet in spite of this terseness there is hardly a single incident in the narrative to which S. Mark does not contribute some special feature. His narrative is the narrative of an eyewitness, upon whose memory each event is photographed in detail.

The narrative, moreover, is "addressed to the vigorous intelligence of Roman hearers"—it records deeds, not words ; actions rather than discourses.

It shows us by its details, the true humanity and divinity of our Lord ; it shows us in the selection of the events recorded, that whether He works directly or indirectly, our Lord yet overcomes for God the powers of evil, the wickednesses and diseases of His people, and the tumultuous passions of men.

"In substance and style and treatment, the Gospel of S. Mark is essentially a transcript from life."

"The course and issue of facts are imaged in it with the clearest outline."¹

¹ See Westcott's *Introduction*, chap. vii.

The narrative is equally disconnected from the symbolism of the Old Testament and from the deeper reasonings of the New Testament.¹

It is a vivid and simple record, stamped with the most distinct impress of independence and originality.

The teaching which was originally addressed to the practical Roman is still pregnant with instruction for us to-day.

To the business man this Gospel speaks in terse, vivid, convincing tones, with a clear message.

There is a Gospel—Jesus Christ has all the completeness of manhood, and yet is God, our Saviour and our King.

¹ See Westcott's *Introduction*, chap. vii.

IV

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MATTHEW : ITS SOURCES AND AIMS

AT the present moment we know less about the Gospel according to S. Matthew than about any of the other Gospels. This is partly due to the fact that we know less about S. Matthew than about any other Evangelist, and partly to the fact that at present we are quite unable to connect the existing Gospel with the traditional account of it.

Tradition affirms that S. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Judæa while S. Peter and S. Paul were founding the Church at Rome, for the use of Jewish converts, and in their national language. And that he did so because, having formerly preached to the Hebrews, he was now going away to preach to others. And this tradition is steady and uniform.

Of S. Matthew himself we know next to nothing. S. Mark calls him Levi, the son of

Alphæus ; he was a customs officer at Capernaum, apparently in the service of King Herod. He was immediately obedient to our Lord's call, and he at least forsook all when he followed Jesus, for his post must have been instantly filled up, and in no sense could have been kept open for him, nor could he have returned to it from time to time as did the fishermen. For the rest, all we know of him is that the lately discovered fragment of the Gospel of S. Peter, which is believed to be derived from the original and lost ending to S. Mark's Gospel, tells us he was among the disciples who went to meet our Lord in Galilee after the Resurrection.

Of his Gospel we know less even than this. We are told that he wrote his Gospel in Hebrew ; but of such an Hebrew Gospel no trace has ever been found. The Greek Gospel that goes by his name is certainly not a translation from an Aramaic original. And yet all the early writers quote it as if it were the original.

The whole position of S. Matthew's Gospel is most difficult. It is the Gospel whose literary history we are least able to trace. And yet it was quoted in the second century as the work of S. Matthew ; and of the Synoptic Gospels it was by far the most popular. I have calculated the admitted quotations in the Christian writers of the second century, and allowing for proportionate length, I find the quotations from S.

Matthew's Gospel to be twice as many as those from the Gospels of S. Mark and S. Luke together.

Now if we leave the traditional history for a time, and apply modern methods and knowledge to the elucidation of the problem, we find that S. Matthew's Gospel contains two large sections drawn from other written sources. The largest of these sections is drawn from S. Mark. Very nearly the whole of S. Mark's Gospel—96 per cent. of it, to be quite accurate—is embodied in S. Matthew's Gospel. And this section forms more than half of S. Matthew's Gospel. I showed you in a previous lecture that modern scholars have come to the conclusion that the Greek S. Matthew wrote with S. Mark's Gospel open before him.

Now this does not mean that he slavishly copied from it; for he did not. But it does mean that he embodied very nearly the whole of the subject matter of S. Mark in his own book. How did he treat S. Mark's work? Sometimes he had a version of the story of his own, which he substituted for S. Mark's. This is the case, for instance, in the account of our Lord's Baptism, where S. Matthew alone gives the account of the conversation between the Baptist and our Lord before His Baptism: "But John forbad Him, saying, I have need to be baptised of Thee, and comest Thou to me? And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now; for thus it

becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered Him." Again, I think he had a different account of the Transfiguration.

Sometimes the Greek S. Matthew quotes S. Mark's account and cuts it down; here is an instance: S. Mark says, "And again He entered into Capernaum after some days; and it was noised that he was in the house. And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, no, not so much as about the door; and he preached the word unto them." All this S. Matthew cuts down to one verse: "And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came to His own city."

On the other hand, sometimes he expands S. Mark's narrative; for instance, S. Mark says, "And he went round about the villages teaching." S. Matthew's version is: "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people."

Then very frequently to the simple historical narrative he adds a note, suggesting that this or that act of our Lord is a fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy, which he quotes.

Perhaps I may be allowed to give a word of warning here about those prophecies: the Jews did not quote as we do. Sometimes they quoted their ancient Scriptures literally, and with a full reference to their original meaning; sometimes

they quoted the substance of a passage only; sometimes a merely verbal quotation is made use of, without any reference to the context or primary meaning of the original.

So, you see, though S. Matthew uses nearly the whole of S. Mark's Gospel and embodies it in his own, he does not merely copy it out; he works it all carefully in, sometimes expanding it, sometimes pruning it, and sometimes even substituting for it another alternative narrative of which he may be in possession, which in his judgment gives a better account of any particular incident.

The other large section in S. Matthew's Gospel that is generally regarded as drawn from a written source is that which is common to S. Matthew and S. Luke. Dr Armitage Robinson, the present Dean of Westminster, calls it the non-Markan document. This document is said to include the accounts of the visits of the Pharisees and Sadducees to the Mission of S. John the Baptist; the message of inquiry sent by the imprisoned Baptist to our Lord, "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?"; the miracle of the healing of the centurion's servant; the interview with inquirers, in which he said to one, "Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air their nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head," and to another, "Let the dead bury their dead"; the assertion by the Pharisees that He cast out

devils by the power of Beelzebub ; the first lament over Jerusalem ; a considerable number of discourses, sayings, and parables ; and perhaps the Great Sermon, and the Story of the Temptation.

I say perhaps these last two, because it is possible the variations between S. Matthew and S. Luke in the narrative of the Temptation may point to each having received the story from sources peculiar to himself ; while a considerable number of writers are not willing to admit that the Great Sermons in S. Matthew's Gospel and in S. Luke's are the same. It is quite possible they are not. Our Lord undertook several missions (as we call them) while He was in Galilee, and it may quite well be the case that He twice preached the subject matter of these two sermons. On the other hand, S. Matthew says it was preached on a mount, S. Luke says it was preached not "on a plain" but "on a level place," which may mean a level place on the mount or high land. And all the other differences are quite in harmony with S. Matthew's treatment of other common matter ; so that most scholars are inclined to regard the two reports as two reports of the same Great Sermon.

When we come to compare S. Matthew's report with that of S. Luke, we notice two very important differences ; one is the difference of position in the Gospel narrative, the other is the fact that the sermon in S. Matthew contains

materials drawn from apparently other sermons in S. Luke. When I come to speak of S. Luke, I hope to be able to show that S. Luke intended to write history, and that wherever we have been able to test him, S. Luke has always been proved to be absolutely correct. Therefore now I am going to assume what I am going to give reasons for in my next lecture—that when S. Luke differs from S. Mark and S. Matthew, he is correct in order and in contents. This does not imply that the others made mistakes, but that they wrote with an aim which had less to do with chronological order or exact contents.

S. Matthew's account of the Great Sermon is an illustration of this.¹ Dealing first with the order. S. Matthew puts the Sermon at the end of chapter iv., immediately following a missionary journey through Galilee, which succeeds the second call of Simon and Andrew and James and John. If you read the Sermon through, you will see that before He uttered it, our Lord must have broken with the Scribes and Pharisees; for in it He once attacks them by name, and all through the latter part of it He obviously applies to them the term "hypocrites." Now if we turn to S. Mark's Gospel we find that the rupture took place after He had healed the withered hand of a man in the synagogue at Capernaum on a certain Sabbath day. That incident, and the rupture

¹ See the Dean of Westminster's *Study of the Gospels*, chap. iii.

that followed, and the immediately consequent organisation of our Lord's disciples into a church, are all recorded by each of the Synoptic Evangelists. S. Mark and S. Luke each place these incidents in their proper historical setting, and S. Luke gives the Great Sermon as our Lord's appeal to the general multitudes to thenceforward follow Him. S. Matthew, on the other hand, postpones the account of these incidents to the twelfth chapter, and gives the Sermon in connection with the opening of our Lord's mission work in Galilee. I think you will see at once from this that the order in which events are narrated by S. Matthew is not a chronological order.

When we come to investigate the contents of the Great Sermon in S. Matthew, we find that to the Sermon as apparently originally delivered S. Matthew has added portions of others of our Lord's discourses, which S. Luke gives as having been uttered on different occasions. Now, if there were time, it would be easy to set before you what a stately and model discourse this magnificent Sermon is. But there is not time for it now; and to do so would also divert your attention from the point which I desire to press upon you at this moment. Our investigations go to show that this great Sermon is not merely a single discourse, but is a complete summary of all our Lord's preaching to the multitudes. Or in other words, S. Matthew has been inspired to take the reports of our Lord's discourses and

weave them into a systematic exposition of our Lord's teaching.

If we were to follow out the other passages in S. Matthew's Gospel which are derived from this non-Marcian document, we should find that the same holds true, and thus we are led to the conclusion that the order of events as recorded in S. Matthew's Gospel is a sequence not of time but of idea.

Now, this document from which S. Luke and S. Matthew both quote is either a lost Gospel or a lost fragment of a Gospel. When we recall what was said in the last lecture—how nearly S. Mark's Gospel was lost to us; that there was a time when only one copy could be found, and that copy a mutilated one—it is easy to realise that yet another Gospel may have been both mutilated and lost.

We have spoken of the two written documents of which S. Matthew made use—our S. Mark's Gospel, and this last document. I said that the amount of material which S. Matthew has embodied from our S. Mark's Gospel is rather more than half of his Gospel; the amount that he has incorporated from this lost document is rather more than a quarter; so that, so far as the sources go, we have accounted for about four-fifths of S. Matthew's Gospel.

The remaining fifth is peculiar to S. Matthew; it includes his Genealogy and his account of the early life of our Lord, some sixty verses of the

Great Sermon, three miracles, ten parables, the description of the Last Judgment, the account of the sealing of the sepulchre and the setting a watch, and the account of what happened to the soldiers at the sepulchre on the Resurrection morning.

Now, up to the present time, it is quite impossible with any certainty to say whence these portions of the Gospel came. All we can say is that any portion of this material, or all of it, may have come from S. Matthew's own recollections. For out of the three miracles, two were worked almost immediately after S. Matthew's call, while the third was worked after the Transfiguration, upon the occasion of the return of our Lord and His disciples to Capernaum. Of the parables, four form part of the group of parables of the Kingdom, which were spoken to all the disciples; the Unmerciful Servant, and the Labourers in the Vineyard, were both addressed to the disciples; the Two Sons, and the Marriage of the King's Son, were addressed to the Jews in the Temple on the Tuesday before Easter; while the Ten Virgins, the Talents, and the discourse about the Last Judgment were addressed to the disciples on the evening of the same great day, while they sat on the Mount of Olives overlooking Jerusalem. (I call this Tuesday in Holy Week a great day, not only because of the important and critical part it played in the Divine Tragedy, but also because

to the account of it is devoted about *one-fifth* of S. Matthew's Gospel.)

Therefore, when we sum up the sources of S. Matthew's Gospel, all we can say is that eleven-twentieths, or rather more than a half, is taken, at least in substance, from S. Mark's Gospel; rather more than a quarter of it comes from the lost Gospel or fragment of a Gospel with which S. Luke also was acquainted: while about one-fifth of it is original matter, all of which may have been within S. Matthew's own cognisance.

But this analysis disposes of the tradition that our S. Matthew is a translation of an Aramaic Gospel by S. Matthew now lost. Yet that tradition is balanced by the fact that all the ancient writers quote our Greek S. Matthew as the Gospel according to S. Matthew, and that with them it was the most popular of the Synoptic Gospels, and by them it was placed first of the four Gospels in the Canon, first in order in the Bible.

The actual solution of this problem remains at present unknown, but a tentative solution has been suggested by some very great scholars which appears satisfactory as far as it goes, and is so far not contradictory to any ascertained facts, and it is this. S. Matthew wrote his original Gospel in Aramaic; when it became necessary to put it into Greek, he or his translator, instead of translating it, substituted for the Aramaic the corresponding passages in S.

Mark and the lost Greek fragments, and filled up the close either by rewriting it in Greek or from some other source. I give you this for what it is worth. All we can say about it at present is that it is a possible solution of the problem. But we have much still to learn about S. Matthew's Gospel.

When we turn from its sources to its aims, the Gospel of S. Matthew becomes quite clear. There can be no question as to its aims.

The Gospel begins with a Genealogy which traces out the pedigree of our Lord as the heir to the ancient throne of the Jewish Kings. Then it describes our Lord's miraculous birth, and shows how Joseph is made acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, so that he should not be led to regard it as a transgression of the righteousness of the Law. This must have been derived in the first instance from Joseph. Then follow the visit of the Wise Men, and the treachery of Herod : the King of the Jews is acknowledged and paid homage to on the one hand by the representatives of the Gentiles ; on the other, His life is attempted by the Idumæan usurper. Then the Evangelist begins his record of S. John the Baptist's ministry, and even here his narrative is a contrast to that of S. Luke ; for while S. Luke speaks of the Baptist's influence on the multitude, on the publicans, and on the soldiers, S. Matthew speaks of his effect upon the Pharisees and

Sadducees, upon the religious parties of the Jews, who boasted themselves that they were Abraham's children. Again, when the Temptation of our Lord is recorded, S. Matthew arranges his narrative so that the climax of the Temptation appears to be the conditional offer of the Messianic Kingdom. And so the narrative is given all the way through; the dominant thought is the Kingdom of the Messiah. Each act, each word of our Saviour, is represented as a step towards the taking possession of that Kingdom; and every stage is paralleled by some prophetic utterance which it is stated our Lord then and there fulfilled. Moreover, these prophetic utterances have a character of their own. They are cited as only a Jew could cite them. Some are quoted quite independently of the context, and show only a verbal similarity; some we should accept in our modern view as prophecies, others appear to us as little more than chance coincidences; but our Evangelist regards them all equally as designed foreshadowings, and quotes them as finding their true fulfilment in the events he records.

Thus, from a general glance at the Gospel it is clear that the traditional view of its aim and scope are correct, and are amply verified by an examination of its contents. The Gospel was written for Jews, to exhibit our Lord as the long-promised Messiah, and show how in Him are fulfilled all the ancient prophecies current in Israel.

When we turn from this general glance to consider the special passages peculiar to S. Matthew, our already formed estimate of the object and contents is confirmed.

The Genealogy and S. Matthew's story of our Lord's Infancy I have spoken of already, and the Genealogy I shall have to refer to again presently.

For the rest—of the three miracles, the first¹ is quoted obviously because the patients appeal to our Lord as the Messiah, the Son of David; the second² appears to be recorded because, while the multitudes are inclined to accept Him as Messiah, saying, It was never so seen in Israel, the Pharisees, in order to destroy the budding faith of the chosen people, deliberately assert, "He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils." While the third³ miracle is the finding of a coin in the fish's mouth: this coin was the Temple tribute, and our Lord's paying it was a definite proof of His claim to be a true Israelite, a faithful member of God's chosen people, in spite of the fact that He had already been excommunicated by the Galilean Pharisees. Thus we see that each of these three miracles points in the same direction, and that the three taken together show Him to us God's Messiah, accessible to the cry of His own people, conquer-

¹ Two Blind Men (ix. 27-31).

² The Dumb Devil exorcised (ix. 32-34).

³ The Stater in the Fish (xvii. 24).

ing the devil in them, and claiming to be a loyal member of their Church.

When we turn to the special parables, I believe the same is true of them also. Time does not admit of working these out in detail; there are ten of them. But it is quite easy to see how in some of them this great truth, that Jesus is the Messiah though He was rejected by His own people, is worked out. The parables of the Two Sons, of the Labourers in the Vineyard, and of the Marriage of the King's Son, quite clearly refer to this. And I think the others do the same, especially when we note the distinction which our Lord makes by saying in some cases that the Kingdom is like unto certain things, in others that it is likened, *i.e.* that it has been made like; meaning in the former case that the Kingdom as God designed it, is so; and in the latter case, that owing to the outward influences to which it has been subject, it has become different in its present condition to the original idea of it which existed in the mind of God.¹

But here come in for consideration two very important passages, the Genealogy, and the Story of the Resurrection. In both these passages, as Dr Zahn points out, there is a distinctly apologetic element.

In the genealogy of S. Matthew four women are mentioned. One of these was a Gentile; the other three were women who had broken the

¹ See Westcott's *Introduction*, chap. vii.

Seventh Commandment. Why are their names inserted? Dr Zahn answers, Because of the Jewish slanders about the Virgin Mary. The presence of these women among the ancestors of the Israelite Kings did not vitiate the line of heirs to the Messianic throne : and if this were so, which no Jew could deny, our Lord's claim to the throne would not be invalidated even if the Blessed Virgin had been what the Jewish slanders asserted. This is a very important point. For, so far as I know, it is the first reasonable explanation of the presence of these names in the genealogy ; and in the second place, it makes it clear that before A.D. 70 the story of the miraculous birth of our Lord had been taught to the Jewish Christians, that their opponents had met it by certain attacks upon the character of the Virgin Mary, and that our Evangelist had shown that false though such slanders were, they were futile as well as false, and did not destroy our Lord's Messianic claim. Or, to put the matter in other words, they tell us that the Virgin birth of our Lord, which some people have lately denied and treated as a later addition to the Gospel, had been taught from the very beginning in the Christian Church, had even then found objectors—objectors whose objections had been discussed and replied to and dismissed as futile before the Destruction of Jerusalem.

Similarly, the account of the Sealing of the Stone at the Holy Sepulchre and the setting

of a watch, together with the account of how the Jews bribed the soldiers and the Governor to allow their tale of a theft of the Body from the Tomb to pass current, is inserted to refute Jewish slanders—and that such slanders existed is no slight testimony to the reality of our Lord's Resurrection.

Thus we see that S. Matthew's Gospel—though we cannot yet define S. Matthew's own exact share in its composition—is a Gospel probably written before the Destruction of Jerusalem—was regarded by the earliest Christian writers with the greatest favour—was placed first in the volume of the Four Gospels, though not written first—was quoted more often than any of the other Synoptic Gospels—and was written for Jews to prove that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah, and on behalf of the Jewish Christians to show how little the Jewish slanders about Him, His mother, and His disciples, availed to shake either His claim to the Messianic throne, or the testimony to the reality and historic truth of His Resurrection.

V

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. LUKE : ITS SOURCES AND CHARACTERISTICS

S. LUKE is generally recognised to be the author of the Third Gospel and of the Acts. He is supposed to have been a Gentile and an educated man, “the beloved physician” of S. Paul and “the brother whose praise is in the Gospel.” But nothing is really known of his history except what can be gathered from his own writings.

In the Acts he sometimes writes in the first person plural, “we.” And this is generally accepted as meaning that at such times and places he was present himself. If the ordinary text of the New Testament be taken, this involves his joining S. Paul on his second Missionary Journey at Troas, and going with him to Philippi and then leaving him. It has been conjectured that Luke was a European and a Philippian. On the other hand, there is an

ancient tradition which is embodied in a curious interpolation in Acts xi. 28, in Codex Bezaë, which makes Luke a Christian, and at Antioch in A.D. 43, 44. But the variations of Codex Bezaë, which are many and quaint, have not yet been sufficiently worked at to enable us to say what real authority they possess and how far they can be relied upon. So all we can say for certain is that S. Luke joined S. Paul at Troas, and was left at Philippi on the second Missionary Journey. On S. Paul's third Missionary Journey, after the disturbance at Ephesus, when S. Paul reached Philippi S. Luke rejoined him there (after an interval of five or six years), and accompanied him on his fifth visit to Jerusalem, A.D. 56, and thence to Rome. Apparently S. Luke stayed at Rome till the end of S. Paul's first imprisonment, which ended A.D. 61. Then we hear nothing more of him till A.D. 64 or 65, when he is again with S. Paul at Rome during his second imprisonment and trial. Thus we know for certain that S. Luke was at Jerusalem in A.D. 56, and perhaps between A.D. 61 and 64, and after S. Paul's death; or he may have gone to Ephesus later on, whither the centre of Christianity was removed by the settlement of S. John, when the Jewish War and the Destruction of Jerusalem made residence there no longer possible for the Christian community. Now it is tolerably certain that our Lord died A.D. 30, and that He

was about 35 or 36 years of age when He died; the Virgin Mary would therefore be somewhere about 50, or perhaps a little more, when He died. Then, before S. Luke's known visit to Jerusalem she would, if alive, be between 76 and 80. It is improbable she lived so long; and therefore it is improbable S. Luke ever met the Virgin herself. On the other hand, it is more than probable that some of the ministering women and some of the Virgin's intimate friends survived her, and that S. Luke met them and learnt from them the story of the miraculous birth and early life of our Lord. Professor Sanday thinks he has been able to identify S. Luke's informant with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward.

It is practically certain that S. Luke was a Gentile, and that He had never seen our Lord. Therefore he cannot have been, as some have supposed, either one of the Seventy, or one of the two whom our Lord joined on the walk to Emmaus on the evening of Easter Day.

The first four verses of S. Luke's Gospel are his preface. And in them he tells us how he set himself to gather information, as an historian, from those who were "eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word"—eyewitnesses who could vouch for the truth of what they had seen, and ministers of the word who had learnt by experience what were the portions of our Lord's life and sayings which were most worth record-

ing as efficacious for saving souls.¹ And he claims acceptance for his Gospel because of the care, thoroughness, and accuracy of his work. Moreover, he says he has arranged and written his work "in order," and I think those are certainly right who understand him to mean in chronological order.

Now comes the very important question, Can S. Luke be trusted? He mentions some matters that are not recorded elsewhere. He mentions three matters also that are recorded by Josephus, and his accounts of these varies from those of Josephus; which is likely to be right?

I am going to try and discuss this question with you, so that you may see how the conclusions are reached.

Here are some of the difficulties:—

1. S. Luke ii. 1. "It came to pass in those days, that a decree went forth from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed: this taxing first took place when Quirinius was Governor of Syria." Now Quirinius is known to have been Governor of Syria A.D. 6-9; and a census or taxing did take place in A.D. 8. But S. Matthew says our Lord was born before the death of Herod, and Herod died B.C. 4.

2. Acts v. 34. Gamaliel speaks of the rebellion of Theudas. Gamaliel spoke in A.D. 37, or before: Josephus says the rebellion took

¹ See Dr Plummer's *Commentary on S. Luke*.

place A.D. 45 or 46, eight or nine years after Gamaliel spoke.

3. Then again, in speaking of Philippi being a very important place, he calls it the chief city of this part of Macedonia; and he uses for "part," a Greek word, which Dr Hort, writing in 1881, says, "This word never (in Greek literature) denotes simply a region, province, or any geographical division: when used of land, as of anything else, it means a portion or share."

4. Then again, S. Luke calls the magistrates of Thessalonica politarchs, and the Governor of Malta "the Primus": of these titles the latter is unknown in Greek literature, and the other is so rare that some very great scholars say it does not occur.

Now let us examine these cases. In the two last these two unique titles have been found, not in books but in ancient inscriptions, which prove that S. Luke was absolutely accurate.

In the third case, the case of Philippi, since Dr Hort's death a quantity of coins have been found in the Fayoum in Egypt, where there was a great Macedonian colony, and on these coins the word used by S. Luke for "a part" is used for a division of the country, showing that S. Luke again was strictly correct.

About Theudas we know nothing. But Josephus wrote two books, the *Wars of the Jews*, and the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and he constantly repeats himself in the two books with

statements that contradict one another ; so that it is easy to show that he is both careless and inaccurate, and therefore no conclusion hostile to S. Luke ought to be based on a single unsupported statement of Josephus.

About Quirinius and the taxing when our Lord was born, we can tell something, if not everything. A house was taken down a few years ago in Venice, and on the back of one of the stones was an inscription to the memory of a soldier who died or was killed while serving under Quirinius in Syria, in the war against the Homonadenses, a warlike mountain tribe on the frontier ; so Quirinius was in Syria before A.D. 6. Then again, certain recent discoveries among the Egyptian papyri show that there were periodic household census papers for the provinces of the Roman Empire, and that one would be due about the time S. Luke mentions. Then again, Quirinius was a very great Roman noble and an especially great general, and in the records we have of his life there are admitted traces, apart from the stone I have referred to, that he was in some high office in Syria before A.D. 6. So, then, though we cannot yet prove all S. Luke says about the census or taxing under Quirinius, we can already prove that there probably was a census, and that Quirinius was in some command in Syria about that time.

Thus in every case where we have been able to test S. Luke, he proves to be minutely correct ;

hence it is not unfair to argue that he may safely be trusted where no other historian covers the ground, or even as against a writer like Josephus, who can be proved by comparisons from his own works to be frequently inaccurate.

We have arrived, then, at the conclusion that S. Luke is a painstaking, accurate, and reliable historian. It remains for us to investigate the sources of his information.

When we come to examine his book carefully we find that, as he tells us in his preface, S. Luke made use of many sources of information. Among these are, of course, S. Mark's Gospel, and the lost document common to S. Matthew and S. Mark.

In addition, there is the narrative of the early life of our Lord, which must have come in the first instance from the Virgin Mary; there is the long section about the journeyings towards Jerusalem; and all through there are distinct traces of another source. Finally, there are the interpolations.

I need not dwell very long on S. Luke's treatment of the information he derives from S. Mark's Gospel. It occupies rather less than two-fifths of his Gospel;¹ it consists of rather more than four-fifths of S. Mark's Gospel.² Therefore it is evident that S. Luke has compressed this information into about half the space it occupies in S. Mark's Gospel. He also makes corrections in it and additions to it, additions of

¹ 38 per cent.

² 83 per cent.

detail and explanation. The one really important section which is common to S. Mark and S. Matthew, and which S. Luke omits, is the journey undertaken, between the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Transfiguration, into the Gentile and heathen district of Tyre, Sidon, and Decapolis, and including the Feeding of the Four Thousand Gentiles. This is at first sight a very remarkable omission; perhaps we may account for it by the fact that S. Luke, himself a Gentile, and writing in the main for Gentiles, would feel it unnecessary to show that our Lord was interested in them, regarded them as related to Himself, and would welcome them into His Kingdom.

In discussing S. Matthew's Gospel in the last lecture, I spoke about the relation of both those Evangelists to the common document, the lost Gospel or fragment of a Gospel which both make use of, and which includes the Great Sermon. I then pointed out to you that while in S. Matthew's Gospel the Great Sermon was all drawn together and worked up into a representative summary of our Lord's teaching, in S. Luke's Gospel the fragmentary discourses were all in their proper historical setting, distinct from the Sermon on the level place. If we had to reconstruct this fragment, we should find it included the Temptation, the Great Sermon, the Healing of the Centurion's Servant, the visit of John the Baptist's messengers, and some of the later events of

our Lord's life : but we should be unable to say whether the story of the Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain belonged to it or no ; for though this passage occurs in S. Luke's Gospel immediately after the Healing of the Centurion's Servant, it is quite possible that it did not occur in the lost document, but that S. Luke derived it from some other source, and yet knew that to be its historical setting, and consequently placed it there, and quite correctly.

After the Transfiguration there follows another great section, which is generally called the Journeyings towards Jerusalem. This section divides into three parts, each part commencing with the statement that He is journeying towards Jerusalem. A careful study will show that each of these parts represents a stage in the progress, and that the phrase with which they open, "And it came to pass, when the time was come that He should be received up, He stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,"¹ covers the whole period up to the Passion ; and the iteration, "And he went through the cities and villages journeying towards Jerusalem" ;² and again, "And it came to pass as he went to Jerusalem, that He passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee,"³ only marks a different stage in the Way of the Cross.

There are two or three things in this threefold progress I want you to notice.

¹ Luke ix. 51.

² Luke xiii. 22.

³ Luke xvii. 11.

In the first stage He is actually at Jerusalem part of the time, for He is staying with Martha and Mary at Bethany;¹ and also the parable of the Good Samaritan occurs in this stage, and if our Lord followed His usual practice, it must have been spoken on or within view of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho.

Similarly, the story of how Pilate treated the Galileans, and of the accident at Siloam,² imply that our Lord was in Jerusalem or its immediate neighbourhood.

In the second stage the inferences of locality are less clear.

But in the third stage our Lord is said to go "through Samaria and Galilee" towards Jerusalem. Now Samaria was between Galilee and Jerusalem; and yet the Evangelist says our Lord went "through Samaria and Galilee." I am quite aware of course that some good scholars want to translate (as the margin of the Revised Version translates) "he passed between Samaria and Galilee," but that does not really make the matter any clearer. Whereas if you will pay attention to the incidental notices that tell us He was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and then compare them with the account given by S. John of our Lord's movements at the same period, you will see that it all becomes fairly intelligible.

For S. Luke's first stage includes the events

¹ Luke x. 38.

² Luke xiii. 1.

recorded in S. John vii., viii., ix., x. S. Luke's second stage includes the events recorded in S. John xi. And therefore, for the last stage He starts from the city Ephraim in Judæa, north-east of Jerusalem, and journeys first northwards through Samaria and Galilee to meet the caravan of Galilean pilgrims, where they cross the Jordan into Peræa, on their way up to the final Passover, and then accompanies them to Jerusalem.

The remainder of the Gospel is peculiar to S. Luke. This includes his narrative of our Lord's birth, his genealogy, his account of our Lord's baptism, and perhaps of the Transfiguration, and some of the incidents of the Passion.

With regard to the narrative of the Birth and Early Life of our Lord, there can be no question as to the source from which this came. It must have come in the first instance from the Virgin Mary. The accounts of the Vision of Zacharias would be told to her when she went to visit Elisabeth; all the rest was within her own cognisance, and S. Luke expressly tells us, Mary "His mother kept all these sayings in her heart."

When we turn to the genealogy there is again a difference. Just as S. Matthew appears to give us the history of the birth and early life of our Lord as derived from Joseph, while as S. Luke gives it to us as derived from the Virgin Mary; so in the case of the genealogies, while S. Matthew gives us the list of the heirs to the

Throne of David and traces the line back to Abraham, so as to exhibit our Lord as the heir of all the promises, S. Luke apparently gives us the list of his natural forefathers, and traces the line back through David and Abraham to Adam and up to God. As Bishop Westcott puts it, "In the one we see a royal Infant born by a legal title to a glorious inheritance; and in the other a ministering Saviour who bears the natural sum of human sorrow." Then the position of the genealogies in their respective Gospels is full of significance; in S. Matthew it comes before the Nativity of our Lord, and prepares us for the announcement of His birth as King of Israel; in S. Luke it comes after our Lord's baptism, and before He begins His ministry, showing us as it were that the Virgin-born and Spirit-gifted Christ is the second Adam, and is as much a special manifestation of the Divine power as was the creation of the first Adam.

As I have already pointed out, the history of our Lord's birth and infancy must have been derived from the Virgin Mary, and probably through some of her women friends at Jerusalem; and possibly, as Dr Sanday seems to think he can prove, from Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward.

In the accounts of the baptism of S. John the Baptist, it is clear that S. Matthew and S. Luke derive their information from two separate

sources; for while S. Matthew describes the effect of S. John's preaching upon the Pharisees and Sadducees, the religious parties of the Jews, S. Luke gives its effect upon the general public, the people, the publicans, and the soldiers. And when the baptism of our Lord is reached, S. Luke is careful to tell us that it was "after all the people had been baptised," *i.e.* when John was alone, that Jesus came to be baptised; which explains the fact implied in S. John's Gospel that the Voice from heaven and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, were only known to the Baptist.

There are a group of two or three very interesting details later on to which I desire to draw your attention, as giving a clue to one of the sources of S. Luke's information.

In the Transfiguration, S. Luke gives us two pieces of information which are peculiar to himself: one is the subject of the conversation between Moses and Elias and our Lord, namely, His "exodus," which He was to accomplish at Jerusalem; the other is, that the disciples, and Peter especially, were heavy with sleep, and that it was only when Moses and Elijah were leaving that S. Peter, still half dazed, made his proposal to erect the three tabernacles. Only three of the Apostles were there, Peter, James, and John. Peter's account is to be found in S. Mark; James was beheaded by Herod in A.D. 44, some years before S. Luke visited the Holy City.

Hence it follows that S. Luke's informant here was probably S. John.

Again, in the story of the way to Calvary, S. Luke alone tells us of the sympathy of the women of Jerusalem, and what our Lord said to them; this may have come from either of two sources, either our Lord's women friends or S. John.

But when we come to the Crucifixion itself, we find the original S. Luke alone recording the mockery by the soldiers, the scene with the penitent robber, and the final commendatory prayer: these could only have been preserved by one of those who stood close by the Cross—they were at most five, The Virgin, Mary Magdalene, two other women, and S. John—therefore the narrative might have come either from the other women or S. John; but S. Luke expressly tells us that “all His acquaintance and the women that followed him from Galilee stood afar off beholding these things”: therefore I am inclined to think that the story of the mockery by the soldiers and the scene with the crucified robbers must have come from S. John. On the other hand, the last final commendatory prayer, “Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit,” is just the very last words, the hopefulness and peace of which would sink deep into the Virgin's heart, and therefore perhaps they may have come through her friends to the Evangelist.

Before we quite pass away from the sources of this Gospel, it may be worth while to notice

that two of the most important "interpolations" occur in this Gospel, the story of the sweat like great drops of blood, and our Lord's prayer for His murderers. Now in the case of the first, only Peter, James, and John went with our Lord into the recesses of the Garden of Gethsemane. This narrative must therefore have come from one of them, and S. Peter did not apparently furnish it to S. Mark, and therefore I think it must have come from S. James or S. John; in the case, however, of the prayer, "Father, forgive them," S. John was the only Apostle within reach; hence I think we may conclude that the internal evidence is in favour of these interpolations having come to us from S. John through one of his pupils in his school at Ephesus.

To sum up briefly, we conclude that S. Luke set to work to write his Gospel as a history, that he derived his information from the best sources at his disposal, and that those sources included S. Mark's Gospel, a fragment of a lost document which was also known to S. Matthew, and information specially derived from the friends of the Virgin, S. John, and perhaps others.

The question of the integrity of S. Luke's Gospel is one that I should answer by means of the tests of Textual Criticism; but it has been discussed of late years from other points of view, and given in favour of the orthodox

view. So that we may safely conclude that, with the exception of the interpolations, to which reference has already been made, and which date from the beginning of the second century, we possess S. Luke's Gospel practically as it was published by the author.

We pass on now to consider its characteristics. Ancient tradition held that it was written under the influence of S. Paul, and that it represented the Gospel as S. Paul preached it; this to some extent is undoubtedly true, for S. Paul was the "illuminator" of S. Luke, and enlightened him as to the essential character of the Gospel, impressing upon him its universality and its freedom. But S. Luke was a Greek, and S. Paul was a Jew; and this comes out quite clearly in the way they look at different things, for instance, in their view of the relations of women to the Church.

As we study the Gospel, we are struck first of all with its *comprehensiveness*. It is comprehensive in two senses; for (1) it gives a full, complete, comprehensive picture, a biography of Jesus Christ; and (2) it is also comprehensive in its universality. This is seen from the special events and utterances recorded by S. Luke.

For instance, S. Luke records seventeen miracles; out of these seventeen, five are peculiar to S. Luke. These five are, the raising of the widow's son at Nain; the healing of the woman with a spirit of infirmity in a synagogue

on a Sabbath ; the healing, also on the Sabbath, of the uninvited guest with the dropsy, at the dinner in the Pharisee's house ; the healing of the ten lepers ; and the healing of the ear of Malchus, the servant of the High Priest. Now it is quite clear that in three of these cases our Lord acted of His own accord without being asked ; and in two of them the persons healed were in a sense not among His friends, and perhaps Gentiles. Here at once we get a view of the freedom of His grace. Similarly with regard to the parables : there are twenty-three parables in S. Luke's Gospel ; of these, seventeen are peculiar to S. Luke. These seventeen include the Good Samaritan, the Great Supper, the Lost Piece of Money, the Prodigal Son, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Unprofitable Servants, the Pharisee and Publican ; in all these, at least, stress is laid on the freedom and universality of the Gospel as opposed to the exclusiveness of Jewish prejudice.

Then again, S. Luke's Gospel is in an especial sense the Gospel for women. The Jews looked down upon women ; they thanked God in their public service that they had not been made women ; the women were banished behind a screen in a synagogue, and were not admitted to the Court of Israel in the Temple ; while custom did not allow a Jewish teacher of repute, without loss of caste, to be seen speaking to a woman in the street, not even to his own wife.

To S. Luke woman is ennobled for ever, because she has been the instrument of the Incarnation of God. He mentions the women on every occasion, and dwells lovingly upon their relations with our Lord and His with them. Besides the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene, and the Mother of Zebedee's children, S. Luke mentions Elisabeth the mother of S. John the Baptist, Anna the prophetess, Joanna the wife of Chuza (Herod's steward), Susanna one of the ministering women, and Martha and her sister Mary of Bethany; also he tells of the widow at Nain, the nameless sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee, the woman with the issue of blood, the widow who put her two mites into the treasury of the Temple, the daughters of Jerusalem, and the women at the sepulchre.

Then again, S. Luke lays great stress on *Prayer*. Like the other Evangelists, he mentions our Lord praying in Gethsemane: but in addition S. Luke tells us He prayed at His baptism,¹ before his conflict with the Jewish authorities in the synagogues of Galilee,² before choosing and ordaining the Twelve Apostles,³ before the first announcement of His Passion,⁴ at the Transfiguration,⁵ before teaching the Lord's Prayer,⁶ on behalf of S. Peter,⁷ and on the Cross.⁸ It is S. Luke also who preserves for us the three parables about Prayer, the Friend

¹ iii. 21.³ vi. 12.⁵ ix. 29.⁷ xxii. 32.² v. 16.⁴ ix. 18.⁶ xi. 1.⁸ xxiii. 46.

at Midnight,¹ the Unjust Judge,² and the Pharisee and the Publican;³ and also the two solemn charges to the disciples, "Watch ye at every season, making supplication that ye may prevail,"⁴ and in Gethsemane, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation."⁵

S. Luke gives prominence also to the corresponding duty of *Praise and Thanksgiving*. He alone preserves four of the great hymns of the Church—the Gloria in excelsis, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, and the Nunc Dimittis. And in thirteen other passages he speaks of God being praised and glorified, generally by those who had received special benefits.

The anti-Christian critics have been disposed to describe the different Gospels as opposed to one another, and as representing the controversial views of rival and hostile teachers. Such a description has been practically shown to be untrue, both by the results of Textual Criticism and the other points dealt with in these lectures. But it is well for us to remember that the two outstanding figures of the Church of the first century were essentially S. Peter and S. John. S. Paul has become more prominent than S. Peter in the later Church, mainly on account of his numerous letters; but S. Peter was unquestionably, as our Lord designed him to be, the stay of the infant Church. Any real opposition

¹ xi. 5.³ xviii. 11.⁵ xxii. 40.² xviii. 1.⁴ xxi. 36.

between S. Peter and S. Paul as to the facts of the Gospel or the great main issues involved therein was impossible, as is clearly shown by the fact that S. Mark, the admitted Evangelist of S. Peter, was summoned by S. Paul himself¹ to attend him during his passage through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, because "he is profitable to him for ministering."

If we need to describe from this point of view the mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels, it would be most correct to say that S. Mark presents the neutral Gospel, the message of good tidings as proclaimed to all, while S. Matthew and S. Luke in their respective Gospels present the same Redeeming Lord respectively to the Jews who waited for the Hope of Israel and the revealing of God's Chosen King, and to the Gentiles who were yearning for a second Adam to re-create and save all mankind.

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

VI

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. JOHN : ITS AUTHOR, METHOD, AND MESSAGE

“THE genuineness of S. John’s Gospel,” says Bishop Lightfoot, “is the centre of the position of those who uphold the historical truth of the record of our Lord Jesus Christ given us in the New Testament.”

This Gospel is attacked by two classes of assailants : those who are called Rationalists, who deny the miraculous element in Christianity ; and those who are called Unitarians, who deny the distinctive character of Christian doctrine—the fact that we believe our Lord Jesus to be both God and Man, equal to and one with the Father as touching His Godhead.

Hence it follows that it is necessary to meet our assailants on the question of the genuineness of the Gospels.

The principal assailants of S. John are divided into two classes : those who date the Gospel very late, and those who, while they accept the

traditional date, do not believe it to be the work of the Apostle. Of the former, Prof. Schmiedel of Zurich is the latest exponent; of the latter, Prof. Harnack of Berlin. Now with regard to Prof. Schmeidel, he dates the Gospel about A.D. 130. Our reply at once is that Textual Criticism makes a date so late as that impossible, as you will remember, if you recall what I said in my first lecture. Prof. Harnack puts the date about the same time that we do, but thinks another John, not the Apostle, was the author. Now this supposition of a second John is not altogether baseless. Papias, who was either a pupil of S. John the Apostle, or a pupil of a pupil of his, is said in one passage quoted by Eusebius to speak of a second John, "John the Elder." This raises a difficult question. Is "John the Elder" the same as "John the Apostle"? Very great names are to be found saying *No*, including Bishop Lightfoot and Bishop Westcott; equally great names say *Yes*, they are two titles for the same person. I confess that for once I disagree with Drs Lightfoot and Westcott. But you will see that this doubt makes it necessary to prove that S. John the Apostle was the Evangelist.

There are two lines of proof; one is called External Testimony, and the other Internal Testimony. The one means, What do other people say? The other means, What does the book itself say?

Let us deal with the External Evidence first. It consists of notices, references, and quotations. In his *Biblical Essays*, Bishop Lightfoot gives a summary of it, and shows that in all parts of the Church — Asia Minor, Gaul, Antioch, Palestine, Alexandria, Rome, Africa, Syria—and, with one insignificant exception, among all heretical writers, S. John has been recognised as the author of the Fourth Gospel from the very earliest times, *i.e.*, from the days of his own pupils, and of those who were the pupils of his friends and contemporaries. The contrary view that S. John was not the author, and that the Fourth Gospel was written towards the middle or in the latter half of the second century, was first propounded about A.D. 1820. Bishop Lightfoot gives a list of the principal exponents of this view, and remarks after doing so: “In reviewing this list of writers, one cannot fail to be struck with two facts, (i) the variety of their opinions; (ii) their gradual retrogression from the extreme position taken up at first.” Of course, Textual Criticism has negatived the suggestion that this Gospel was written in the middle or end of the second century. Consequently Prof. Harnack finds himself fixing the date between A.D. 80 and 110, though he ascribes the Gospel to an author other than the Apostle. The orthodox defenders of the Gospel give the date as between A.D. 96 and 100.

Thus we see that there is a continuous belief

from the beginning that this Gospel is the work of the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

When we come to discuss the *Internal Evidence*, I hope you will examine the matter for yourselves. The argument I am going to put before you convinces Bishop Lightfoot, Bishop Westcott, and all the great English scholars of first rank; but on the other hand, Prof. Schmiedel and Prof. Harnack regard it as proving the exact opposite. With regard to Prof. Schmiedel, so far as I have been able to follow his writings, he is entirely handicapped by his refusal to believe in anything outside ordinary experience. But of this argument I think you can judge quite as well as a Swiss or German professor.

I am going to try and show from the Gospel itself,—

(i) That the author must have been a Jew.

(ii) That he must have been a Jew of Palestine.

(iii) That he must have been an eyewitness of what he relates.

(iv) That he must have been one of the Twelve Apostles.

(v) That he was the Apostle S. John.

Now, of course, I cannot do this at full length; it would occupy all the time of this lecture so to do; but I am going to give you specimens of the proofs.

(i) The author of the Fourth Gospel was a Jew.

(a) He writes Greek as a Hebrew Jew would write Greek. Take an instance: in Hebrew, the word “and” does duty both for “and” and “but.” Here are some instances—“They (the Scriptures) are they which testify of Me, and ye will not come to Me”;¹ “Did not Moses give you the law, and none of you keepeth the law”;² “Then sought they to take Him, and no man laid hold of him.”³ Again, he knows the meaning of all the Hebrew words, and explains them—Kephas, Gabbatha, Golgotha, Messias, Rabboni, Siloam, Thomas. In his quotations from the Old Testament he frequently quotes from the Hebrew, and translates for himself, instead of quoting from the LXX, the ordinary Greek Version.

(b) He is quite familiar with Jewish opinions and points of view. He knows all about the Messiah, about the Prophet⁴ like unto Moses, about the hostility⁵ between the Jews and Samaritans, about the practice of the Jewish teachers never to speak to a woman in public,⁶ about the Jewish schools;⁷ about their contempt for the Dispersion, “Will he go unto the dispersed among the Gentiles and teach the

¹ v. 40.

² vii. 19.

³ vii. 30.

⁴ i. 21 to vii. 40.

⁵ iv. 9, 20 to viii. 48.

⁶ iv. 27.

⁷ vii. 15.

Gentiles?"¹ About their estimate of Abraham and the prophets.

(c) He is quite familiar with their usages and customs about baptism,² about the Jewish feasts; for instance, he knows all about the length and ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles, and which was the Great Day of the Feast;³ about the fact that they considered it lawful to circumcise a man on the Sabbath day,⁴ etc.

(d) He knows all about the Jewish imagery and the line of Jewish theological thought. "Salvation is of the Jews."⁵ Moses wrote of Christ,⁶ the brazen serpent,⁷ the paschal lamb,⁸ the pillar of fire and cloud,⁹ etc.

Hence we conclude that the author must have been a Jew.

(ii) But he must also have been a Jew of Palestine. He knows all about his geography; and this is very remarkable, because he is writing more than twenty years after the Jewish wars and after the Destruction of Jerusalem, and he is writing in a far-off foreign country. For instance, he knows of two Bethanys, one near Jerusalem and one beyond Jordan; he knows all about Nazareth, and Cana, and Aenon with its many waters, and Sychar in Samaria near Jacob's Well, and Ephraim near the Wilderness. He knows the old Jerusalem thoroughly:

¹ vii. 35.

⁴ vii. 22.

⁷ iii. 14.

² i. 25 to iii. 22, 23.

⁵ iv. 22.

⁸ xix. 36.

³ vii. 37.

⁶ v. 46.

⁹ viii. 12.

Bethesda by the Sheepgate, with its five porches; Siloam, Solomon's Porch, the Treasury in the Temple, the building of the Temple by Herod, and all about the watercourses at Jerusalem, and the topography of the Mount of Olives. Similarly, he knows all about the Jewish sects, the relations at the time of the Pharisees and Sadducees. For instance, Josephus¹ tells us that the Sadducees were few in number, and of the highest rank; and that the Pharisees, who were the popular leaders, could force the Sadducees to do what they pleased. In the Fourth Gospel the Pharisees always take the lead, except once, and that once was on a question on which our Lord and the Pharisees agreed as against the Sadducees. That once is when the Sadducees plot to put Lazarus to death because he is a living witness to the fact of the resurrection of the dead.²

Other proofs could be given on this point, but I have told you enough to show how the conclusion is reached that the author of the Fourth Gospel must have been a Palestinian Jew.

(iii) I propose now to show that he must have been an eyewitness of what he relates.

The writer exhibits a minuteness of detail as regards time, place, persons, and incidents, yet all is perfectly natural, and the sequence of events is vivid and entirely inartificial. For

¹ Lightfoot, p. 27.

² xii. 10.

instance, the chronology of our Lord's life can be gathered from S. John's Gospel alone. The general history marches steadily forward, and its sequences are defined by a first Passover in chap. ii., an undefined feast (probably the Feast of Tabernacles) in chap. v., a second Passover in chap. vi., a second Feast of Tabernacles in chap. vii., the Feast of Dedication in chap. x., and the final Passover in chap. xii. and following chapters.

The detailed times are just as carefully noted. A careful account is given of our Lord's first week of His ministry;¹—the very days are marked out. The FIRST day, S. John the Baptist gives his reply to the commission of inquiry sent from Jerusalem. The SECOND day, He points Jesus out to His own disciples. The THIRD day, He sends Andrew and John to Jesus, and Andrew and John finally each bring their own brothers Simon and James. The FOURTH day, Jesus finds Philip for Himself, and Philip brings Nathanael. The events of the FIFTH and SIXTH days are not recorded. But on the SEVENTH day, Jesus and these six disciples are at Cana at the Wedding Feast, and there He works His first miracle. Equally careful details are given of the last week of the ministry. The detailed times concern not merely the days but the hours, and the approximate time: it was the tenth hour when the first two disciples followed

¹ i. 29 to ii. 11.

Jesus ;¹ it was the sixth hour when Jesus rested at Jacob's Well ;² it was the seventh hour when the nobleman whose son was sick met Him at Cana ;³ it was night when Judas left the Last Supper.⁴

Equally detailed and correct are the notices of locality. S. Luke tells us about our Lord's visit to Martha and Mary, and that they lived at a certain village. S. John tells us that village was Bethany, and how far Bethany is from Jerusalem.

Similarly, the notices of persons are equally detailed. Sayings, instead of being left vaguely general, are attributed to the speakers by name. One illustration will suffice, from the Feeding of the Five Thousand. In the accounts of the Synoptists no names of speakers are mentioned, but in the Fourth Gospel we are told that it was Philip who said, "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient" ; and that it was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, who told Jesus, "There is a lad here which hath five barley loaves and two small fishes."

Again, it is to the author of the Fourth Gospel that we are indebted for a number of details which, though in some cases unimportant in themselves, add greatly to the life-like character of his portraiture of events. For instance, it is this Evangelist who tells us about

¹ i. 39.

² iv. 6.

³ iv. 52.

⁴ xiii. 30.

the bag in which our Lord and His disciples kept their common fund,¹ about the sop which was given to Judas,² about the three languages of the title on the Cross,³ about the four parts⁴ into which our Lord's tunic and cloak were divided, about the weight of the myrrh and aloes used for the embalming;⁵ about the shape which the head napkin had retained⁶ after the pressure of the head had been removed by His Resurrection, and how it had rolled aside in consequence.

Do not these instances assuredly prove that the narrative of the Fourth Gospel is the work of an eyewitness?

(iv) Next we have to show that this eyewitness must have been one of the Twelve Apostles.

A very few words will suffice under this head. For he knows the thoughts of the disciples; as for instance, at the first cleansing of the Temple, "when His disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up."⁷ And again, that at the well of Sychar "His disciples marvelled that He talked with the woman."⁸ There are at least eleven such notices in the Gospel. Again, he knows what was spoken in private by the disciples to

¹ xii. 6.

² xiii. 26.

³ xix. 20. The statement about the languages of the title on the Cross, in S. Luke's Gospel, is an interpolation.

⁴ xix. 23.

⁶ xx. 7.

⁸ iv. 27.

⁵ xix. 39.

⁷ ii. 17.

our Lord ; as for instance, at Jacob's Well, "And in the meanwhile His disciples prayed Him, saying, Master, eat" ;¹ also what they said privately among themselves, as for instance, on this same occasion, "Therefore said the disciples one to another, Hath any man brought Him ought to eat."² Again, he is familiar with the places whither our Lord and His disciples commonly resorted ; as for instance, he tells us of Gethsemane, "Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with His disciples."³ And, finally, he was present at the Last Supper and in all that followed.

None but one of the Twelve could have been thus present.

(v) Which of the Twelve was he ?

He was one of the first six mentioned in chap. i. : Andrew, Peter, Philip, Nathanael, "the other disciple," and the other disciple's brother. He was one of the two who obtained entrance to the High Priest's Palace : those two were Peter and the other disciple. Peter died thirty years before this Gospel was written ; moreover, from the way he is spoken of, he is clearly not the writer. The author never names himself, but he tells us he accompanied Peter to the sepulchre on Easter Day : he must surely be one of the favoured three, Peter or James or John. James died fifty years before the Gospel was written. Moreover, S. Peter had one continuous companion from the Resurrection

¹ iv. 31.

² iv. 33.

³ xviii. 2.

onwards, and that was *S. John*. So we conclude the writer was S. John. My argument here is only a very brief and compressed sketch of the long and detailed argument which you can read for yourselves either in Bishop Lightfoot's *Biblical Studies*, or in Bishop Westcott's Introduction to his Commentary on this Gospel.

I come now to speak of its method. The Fourth Gospel is quite different to the other three. The author writes not so much as an historian but as an interpreter, unfolding the full significance of each event, and carefully calling attention to its effect upon disciples and upon opponents, upon faith and upon disbelief.

Before we go further we must notice the relation between S. John and the Synoptists. The traditional account is that the three other Gospels were brought to S. John for his formal recognition, and that he gave it, and then delivered his own to complete the set. That may be correct or it may not; but it almost certainly has an element of truth in it. For the other Gospels were written twenty or thirty years earlier than S. John, and he must have been acquainted with them. Moreover, the omissions and many of the statements in his Gospel make it quite evident that he was as thoroughly well acquainted with our Lord's work in Galilee as the Synoptic Evangelists were with his work in Judæa.

Next we must note the touching points of the

chronology. The Synoptists give us an account of our Lord's baptism ; S. John gives us an account of the call of the first disciples after His return from the Temptation, which was followed by a short visit to Galilee and a return to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Passover : that Feast of the Passover took place on 30th March, A.D. 28. The next point of contact is the Feeding of the Five Thousand : this took place in Galilee, when the Passover of the following year was nigh : the Passover was on 18th April, in A.D. 29. The third point of contact is the final Passover, the Passover of the Crucifixion : this was on Friday, 7th April, A.D. 30.¹

Now we can trace out S. John's method. He begins with a prologue, which describes the eternal nature, relations, and work of our Lord ; he then shows how our Lord worked unseen in the worlds of nature and of men ; and so he leads up to our Lord's manifestation in human form at the Incarnation, "and the Word was made flesh, and tabernacled amongst us, and we beheld His glory"—*i.e.*, the glory of His Godhead.

Then S. John begins upon our Lord's Ministry. He begins upon it at once ; he says nothing at all about the early life or preparation, though he must have known all about them ; for he had charge of the Virgin Mary for years, and he had been a disciple of S. John the Baptist :

¹ See the Introduction to my *Life of Christ*, p. 25.

yet he omits all about them, and starts off at once with our Lord's Ministry.

This Ministry he carefully divides into sections, and in each case he gives specimens of our Lord's work, not a complete narrative.

In the first section,¹ he describes the beginning of things—the beginning of discipleship, the beginning of miracles, the beginning of His claim to be recognised by working the promised sign, the first cleansing of the Temple at the Passover of A.D. 28.

In the next section,² the Evangelist describes how our Lord gathered His following,—in Judæa, like Nicodemus, in Samaria, and in Galilee.

In the third section,³ he shows how our Lord after a time asked for a decision on His claims—in Jerusalem, at the end of September, when He healed the impotent man on the Sabbath day at the Pool of Bethesda, and thus claimed the right to work on the Sabbath, *i.e.*, to be God. For the Jews taught that only God might work on the Sabbath: or, as they put it, "Why does not God keep the Sabbath? He does. May not a man wander through his own house on the Sabbath? The House of God is the whole realm above and the whole realm below."⁴ This discussion was adjourned, so to speak. Our Lord went back to Galilee, and after six months work, raised the question there by the Feeding of

¹ i. 19 and ii.

² iii., iv.

³ v., vi.

⁴ See Westcott's *Gospel of S. John*, p. 84.

the Five Thousand. Was or was He not the Prophet like unto Moses, the Messiah?

In the fourth section,¹ six months later again, at the end of 29th September, our Lord is at Jerusalem again, and claims to be the antitype of the two Great Lights at the Feast of Tabernacles, *i.e.*, to be the Shechinah, the manifestation of the Presence of God. He remains in and about Jerusalem until the Feast of Dedication,² 20-28th December, when He made clay on the Sabbath day and healed the man born blind: and thus, by claiming the right to work on the Sabbath, reiterated His claim to the Godhead. Then again He retires out of reach.

In the fifth section,³ by the raising of Lazarus He claims to be the Lord of life, "In Him was Life," *i.e.*, in Him all life existed.

The sixth section⁴ describes the final conflict—the last ministry of love to His disciples, and the last conflict with his enemies, issuing in the final triumph of the Resurrection.⁵

Thus we see how, starting from the statement that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, S. John shows our Lord to us by giving us glimpses of His Godhead from time to time as they are manifested through His Incarnate Life.

S. John's method of using his materials is quite different to that of the other Evangelists. Let us take the case of our Lord's miracles.

¹ vii., viii.

³ xi.

⁵ xviii.-xxi.

² ix., x.

⁴ xii.-xvii.

The Synoptists tell us that a very large number were not specifically recorded. "And He healed many that were sick," etc., is a note that is not infrequent in the Synoptic narratives. In the Four Gospels thirty-three miracles are recorded in detail; of these, S. Matthew records twenty-one, S. Mark eighteen, S. Luke nineteen, while S. John only records eight, and of the eight, six are peculiar to his Gospel. The two that occur elsewhere are the Feeding of the Five Thousand (which is the one event of our Lord's Ministry that is recorded by all the four Evangelists) and the walking on the sea (which is recorded by S. Matthew and S. Mark, as well as by S. John). The remainder are, the water turned into wine, the healing of the nobleman's son, the healing of the impotent man at Bethesda on the Sabbath, of the man born blind (also on the Sabbath), the raising of Lazarus, and the multitude of fishes. Perhaps it is worth noticing that *seven* occur during our Lord's Ministry, and the eighth occurs after the Resurrection: according to early belief, *seven* was the figure of a completed creation, a fulfilled life; and eight was the figure of the Resurrection, or new birth. Further, S. John's use of the miracles is different to that of the Synoptists. He regards them as signs, *i.e.*, as the embodiment of truths revealed through action instead of being uttered by words. To take two easy examples: at the close of the first miracle, the turning of the water into wine,

S. John writes, "This beginning of miracles did Jesus, and manifested forth His glory," *i.e.*, the glory of the Godhead in this act was revealed, shining through the tabernacle of His Humanity, for this miracle was an act of creation; into the water He created a new additional element to transform it into wine. Similarly, in the raising of Lazarus, our Lord is revealed as the All-Sovereign Life, who can at His will make alive what is lifeless or restore life which has fled.

Again, S. John's method with regard to our Lord's teaching is equally unique. In the Synoptic Gospels there are preserved thirty of our Lord's parables. S. Matthew records fifteen of them, S. Mark four of them, and S. Luke twenty-three of them. But S. John does not record a single parable. He does record, it is true, four allegories, the Shepherd, the Door, the Good Shepherd, and the True Vine; but the very fact that he records these allegories and no parables, is characteristic of him. For "an allegory differs from a parable as a transparency might differ from a painting on canvas. In the parable, the narrative has a body and substance, so to call it, of its own; it has a value which is independent of its interpretation; it often lends itself to more interpretations than one. In the allegory, the narrative suggests its one obvious interpretation step by step; narrative and interpretation are practically inseparable; it is impossible to look steadily at the picture

presented to the mind's eye by the allegory without perceiving the real persons and events to which it refers, moving almost without disguise behind it."¹

Now this is exactly what characterises all the teaching of our Lord in S. John's Gospel. It is all direct—a clear, direct challenge to the hearers. It is quite contrary to the elusive parabolic teaching in the Synoptic Gospels, which appears to have been intended to tell the people as much as possible, and yet to avoid compelling them to come to a direct decision to accept or reject our Lord.

Another interesting point is worthy of notice. S. John is the only Evangelist who records one of our Lord's own prayers. The others tell us from time to time that He prayed, and they preserve for us the form of prayer He taught His disciples. But S. John alone preserves for us in his seventeenth chapter the actual words of a prayer prayed by our Lord Himself.

There is one other point to which your attention must be drawn. The Fourth Gospel has a kind of conversational character about it. It is quite obvious that it was delivered orally, and either taken down or written out immediately afterwards. Through the main part of the narrative you find parenthetical additions and conversational comments clearing up mistakes and giving explanations that had been asked.

¹ Dr Liddon, *Easter Sermons*, p. 312.

Here are a few instances. "John was not yet cast into prison."¹ "He (Andrew) was the first to find his brother."² "Annas was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was High Priest of that year."³ "This was now the third time that Jesus manifested Himself."⁴ "The saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee."⁵ While, finally, at the close of the Gospel there is an iterated appeal to his congregation. "He knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe."⁶ "These things are written that ye might believe."⁷

If there were an amanuensis—and it is extremely probable, for S. John must have been over eighty when he wrote, and perhaps over ninety—we cannot say for certain who it was. A note to one MS. states that it was Papias, and this I think is regarded as more possible now than formerly.

Another point demands notice. Any careful reader of the Fourth Gospel must have noticed that the Gospel apparently ended originally at the close of chap. xx., and that chap. xxi. has all the appearance of an appendix; also, that the two last verses of

¹ iii. 24.³ xviii. 13.⁵ xxi. 23.² i. 41.⁴ xxi. 14.⁶ xix. 35.⁷ xx. 31.

chap. xxi. can hardly have been written by the Evangelist.

Bishop Lightfoot carefully investigated both these points. With regard to the former, he comes to the conclusion that chap. xxi. is an afterthought (this was recognised as far back as the time of Tertullian, *i.e.*, about A.D. 200), but it was an afterthought on the part of the original author, and this he proves by a careful and detailed examination of the language and style. But as the addition occurs in every known MS., and as there is no trace of its ever having been wanting from any copies, the inference is that this postscript was added by the Evangelist himself before the Gospel was published.

The twenty-fourth verse of the last chapter is a confirmation or attestation of the truth of the narrative on the part of S. John's friends and disciples. This verse is: "This (*i.e.*, the disciple of whom Jesus said, if I will that he tarry, etc.) is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true." This also occurs in every known copy, and there is no trace of the Gospel ever having appeared without it. Hence it follows that this attestation by the Elders of the Ephesian Church must also have been added before the publication of the Gospel.

The last verse of the Gospel is what is called

a scholium or comment. It also must have been there when the Gospel was published. It is probably either the work of S. John himself or of one of his immediate disciples. It runs, you will remember : " And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."

The last point to which I have to draw your attention is the *message* of S. John's Gospel.

S. John himself tells us what was his object : " These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that, believing, ye might have life through His Name."

You will observe the object of the Gospel is twofold : to give a full revelation of our Lord, and to get his hearers to appropriate that revelation.

The revelation of Jesus is also twofold : He is the Christ ; He is the Son of God. He is the Christ, the Long Promised Messiah, the Ideal Man, the King, the Prophet, the Priest of the human race. He comes to us not merely as the leading figure in the great scene of the historic past ; but also, as He Himself puts it, as a living present, who can make Himself one with us to-day, and with whom we can unite ourselves if we will. Thus He touches and unites to Himself both mankind as a whole and each member of the race as an individual, on the one hand.

On the other hand, He is the Son of God, He is with God, He is God Himself, coeternal with the Father, and the instrument by means of which the Godhead deals with the world and with mankind.

The reception of this revelation is also two-fold : we must learn it, test it, make certain of its truth, accept it, believe it ; and then, believing it, we must live it, live it by that Life which is the Light of men.

And, therefore, if these Lectures have been of any use to you, I trust they may have helped you to understand that, so far as the Gospels are concerned, all the best modern learning goes to strengthen their historic character. There are endless problems connected with them that are both interesting and curious. A number of tentative solutions are sure to be propounded. Some of them may probably be very startling. But none can be correct that clashes with the literary history of the books as ascertained by Textual Criticism. And when the true correct solution is reached, it will of necessity be found to strengthen not to invalidate the historic character of the life of Jesus Christ.

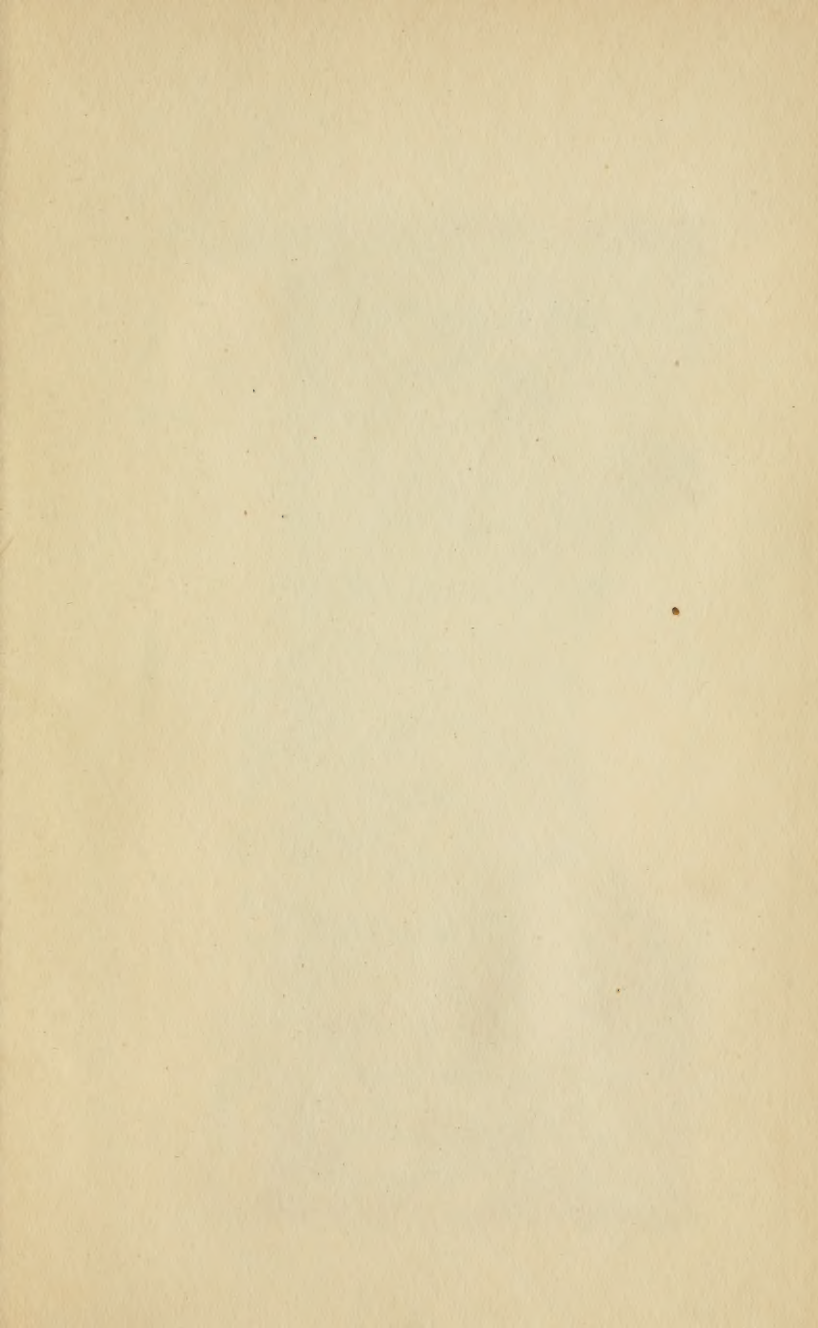
In conclusion, therefore, I would impress upon you the great fact so carefully impressed upon his hearers by the author of the Fourth Gospel.

The object of the Gospels is to teach you that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and to

persuade you to believe and live that eternal truth.

And the more you apprehend that truth, the greater will be your power of realising the historic value of that Life whose records are enshrined in the Gospels.

May the Lord grant you, each and all, to believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and believing, to have life through His Name.



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